

The
CRUSADE
AGAINST
GOVERNMENT
INVESTIGATING
AGENCIES



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A REPORT ON FORCES AND PROCESSES

SP307U/c

THE CRUSADE AGAINST GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATING AGENCIES

WHAT DO YOU THINK would be the reaction in this country if a group of individuals were caught trying to destroy our army - our navy - or our air force - especially at a time when we were engaged in a life and death struggle with some enemy country?

How different would you consider this to be in principle from the present collaboration of certain individuals and groups whose clear purpose is to destroy our front line of security-defense agencies when we are engaged in the deadliest "cold" war that this country has ever faced with an avowed enemy?

This latter reference is to an open and active crusade by certain groups to demolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities as well as to a campaign, not so openly declared but just as real, to discredit and dissipate the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other security agencies.



Everyone knows or should know that this country is "at war" with the Soviet communists - cold war here and hot war there as it suits their purpose - but war to destroy our way of life in whichever way it can best be waged.

To defend against this deadly, ruthless, Godless enemy our nation has established certain security or defense agencies and mechanisms for internal protection which are equally important along with our army navy and air forces in their particular fields.

The agencies that are most feared and hated by the Communists and their strange dream-world compeers are the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC); the Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security; the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB); and certain legislation such as the Smith Act; the Subversive Activities Control Act; certain loyalty oath laws - and any other legal or official curb that restricts activities and advocacies directed toward shattering some of the basic principles and traditions upon which our "American way" has been built.

The House Committee (HUAC) is hated by the Communists and some people who pose as "liberals" because it has the power of subpoena to call before it as witnesses certain people when accumulated evidence indicates they can give valuable information concerning the nature and extent of subversive activities in this country. HUAC has earned the hatred of the Reds and their "liberal" play-fellows because, as a Congressional investigating committee, it has been the one major medium to keep our people well informed as to the network activities of these cunning collaborationists. This publicity infuriates the Reds and their veiled cousins.

The FBI is dreaded and despised by the Communists and their fellow-travelers because of its effective methods of infiltration into Communist ranks thereby learning about their subversive plans - as well as otherwise accumulating evidence about Red intrigue. This, too, produces wrathful indignation and infuriated wailing among the Soviet agents and their "penthouse sweethearts".

Gradually over the years this interference with their work and purposes has created frustration among the Reds and Communist-serving "liberals" that has finally built up to a passionate determination to do away with the despised House Committee on Un-American Activities - and other security roadblocks that hinder the coming of a Socialist America.

The purpose of this Report is factually and realistically to examine some of the main forces and processes behind this crusade of abolition to discover, if possible, how the campaign is progressing.

THE DRIVE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The scheme to abolish one of our major legislative investigating committees was initiated by a so-called "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee" with a big kick-off meeting in New York city (hotbed and headquarters of radicalism and Communism in America) on September 20, 1957. The ingathering was at Carnegie Hall where many "Front" activities are now held in the wake of those "glorious" New Deal days when the Communists were easily able to fill Madison Square Garden.

This "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee" has a lifetime record of being a thinly veiled Trojan Horse of the Left organized in 1951 by Clark Foreman and several "liberal" abettors who were doubtless chosen because they carried some intellectual and institutional prestige along with their ivory-tower illusions.

Since this organization (ECLC) is the lengthening shadow of Clark Foreman who has been its directing genius from the start, it is safe to assume that its virtues and its infirmities may be a true reflection of his own. It may be well therefore to become better acquainted with Mr. Foreman. He is listed more than 40 times by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for his various affiliations and activities which HUAC has recorded. He once wrote a book titled "The New Internationalism" of which the House Committee says - "His understanding of the international Communist movement and his sympathies with it are reflected on almost every page". In this book Foreman said - "Karl Marx arose as the great philosopher for the laboring man" . . . and . . . "The Paris Commune stands next to the Russian revolution as an achievement of the Socialist theory".

A Congressional report in 1947 stated - "Foreman is associated with the Progressive Citizens of America, an allegedly liberal organization which believes in cooperating with Communists. He has also been affiliated with the following Communist-front groups: the Win the Peace Conference; the Washington Committee for Democratic Action which defended Communist cases before the United States Civil Service Commission; and the National Citizens Political Action Committee". Foreman was also head of an apparatus called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited by the House Committee (HUAC) in 1944 as a Communist front and again in 1947 as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South".

A report by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (March, 1954) stated: "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States". According to testimony before this same Senate committee the Southern Conference for Human Welfare did a quick change act in 1949 switching its operational name to Southern Conference Educational Fund with Clark Foreman remaining on its Board.

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE, now spearheading the drive to do away with the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), like other Clark Foreman directed organizations (such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare just described) operates behind the oftentimes deceptive screen of "defending human rights". Such attractive and often delusive terms, like those of "peace" and "democracy", are favorite shibboleths used extensively by the Communists who have long specialized in honeyed promotion of trick-causes to attract gullible idealists into their network mechanisms known as Front-organizations. Hundreds of these slickly window-dressed "Fronts" have been, and continue to be, skilfully used by Soviet agents and Communist-serving "liberals" who pull the wires and call the tunes from concealed backgrounds.

A letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (March 6, 1952) showed Paul L. Lehmann as Chairman, James Imbrie as Secretary-Treasurer and Clark Foreman as Director. Besides these the Executive Committee consisted of Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, the Rev. Malcolm Evans, Milton A. Galamison, I. F. Stone, and Prof. Hugh H. Wilson - all well qualified as "liberals". Fairchild, for instance, is listed more than 50 times by HUAC. The figurehead Chairman, Paul L. Lehmann, was professor of Applied Christianity at Princeton Theological Seminary. Within the year he had faded from the ECLC picture and it may be his original affiliation was influenced by the Left-liberal position of the Seminary's autarchic president, Dr. John A. Mackay, who had publicized his support of American recognition of Red China and otherwise shown left-of-center sympathies.

The first effort of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to go into big-time action as "champion" of civil liberties was in staging a "Two Day Conference and Forum" at Carnegie Hall, New York, January 30-31, 1953. A full page announcement of this affair appeared in "The Nation" (a lefter-than-liberal weekly), January 24, 1953. For this propaganda event the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had mobilized some forty names of prominent Reverends and Professors as sponsors. Several of the most prominent withdrew their participation as soon as they learned the nature of things. Even as well known a liberal as Dr. Paul Tillich, then a professor at Union Theological Seminary, withdrew - according to an editorial by Dr. Daniel Poling.

During 1953 this ECLC group began publishing a small magazine called "Rights" and by that time the officers had been changed to John M. Pickering as chairman, Mrs. George G. Kerstein as Treasurer; Franklin D. Reeve as Secretary - and, of course, Clark H. Foreman.

as Executive Director. The little magazine has ever since been in continual eruption, spouting righteous indignation at the way the "civil rights" of Communists and certain types of "liberals" have been "violated" by Government agencies and investigators as well as by laws passed by the Congress - and so on, ad infinitum. In its June, 1954 issue Corliss Lamont reviewed a book by one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties - Lucille Milner. He referred to her description of the expulsion in 1940 of Communist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from ACLU's board of directors (during the excitement due to exposures of Communism by the Dies Committee) - and this expulsion, Lamont complains in the magazine "Rights", was a "clear betrayal of civil liberties". The September, 1954 issue of this ECLC organ reported that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had telegraphed Congress and the President "in opposition to the Communist Control Bill".

Bringing reference to the matter of this magazine up to date (without taking space to delineate its monthly line of left-conformity) the December, 1958 issue stated the ECLC program "in view of the recent liberal gains in Congress" would include "Operation Abolition - for Abolition of the Inquisitorial Committees of Congress" and repeal of all "repressive" legislation passed in recent years. (Nothing could serve the Communists better.) "Rights" also announced a delay in publishing "The FBI and Your Freedom" because The Nation (radical weekly) had presented a "masterful analysis of the FBI in a special 60-page issue". (More about the FBI smear program later in this report.) There isn't space here to deal with the many "projects" that ECLC has listed in its 1959 program but it would be difficult to find a line of proposed action that would better fit in with the Communist "party line".

WHO MAKES THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE TICK?

Sometime late in 1954 ECLC again changed officers - and the change was significant. Harvey O'Connor became Chairman with Corliss Lamont as Vice Chairman. Clark Foreman (original organizing and strategic key man) remained as Director. Leonard B. Boudin became General Counsel. This is the team in charge of ECLC as it undertakes to mobilize for destruction of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It will therefore serve public interest to become better acquainted with these individuals.

The latest ECLC letterhead shows that Dr. Samuel Grubin is now listed as Treasurer and John Scudder as Secretary. This letterhead carries a long list of nearly 100 names called "National Council" in which are included such personalities as the Rev. Stephen Fritchman (39 HUAC citations), Royal W. France (11), James Aronson (6), Prof. Edward U. Condon (15), Prof. Thomas I. Emerson (26), Rev. A. A. Heist (9), Leo Huberman (30) and his associate editor of a Socialist magazine, Paul Sweezy (12), Robert Kenney (150) Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall (15), Prof. Clyde Miller (33), Rev. Guy Emery Shipley (33), I. F. Stone (13), Dean John Thompson (22), Frank Wilkinson (40 in Calif.), Earl B. Dickerson (33), Mrs. Dorothy Marshall and many others with citations either by HUAC or State investigating committees.

The Chairman of ECLC, Harvey O'Connor, has long been in the pro-Communist orbit. Over the years he achieved something of a reputation with what are known as muck-raking books. (The definition derives from Lincoln Steffens.) O'Connor married a daughter of the wealthy (by inheritance) Wm. Bross Lloyd who was one of the Socialists that founded the Communist Party in this country. O'Connor is listed some 20 or more times by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for his various pro-Communist activities. This may give some hint as to why he is now so active in trying to abolish HUAC. He was tried for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer under oath specific questions as to his Communist connections put to him by a Senate committee in 1953 when this committee was investigating Left-wing books found abundantly in our Government-stocked overseas libraries. Instead of answering the questions he retorted - "my books and my political opinions are of no concern to this committee". One of his books, "How Mellon Got Rich," was published by International Publishers, official Communist publishing house in America. The Communist "Daily Worker" (Oct. 7, 1941) carried a story headed "Harvey O'Connor Joins Committee to Free Earl Browder". This, of course, referred to the Communist leader who was then serving time. The Communist "Worker" (12/11/55) enthusiastically reviewed O'Connor's latest book excoriating the "oil trust". This book was published by the (Marxist) Monthly Review Press.

In his authoritative exposé of the "Red Decade" in a book by that name, Eugene Lyons catalogs Harvey O'Connor with three Communistic affiliations: (1) as signer of a Call put out by the Stalinist intelligentsia "front" called League of American Writers; (2) as signer of an open letter assailing certain intellectuals in the Committee for Cultural Freedom for daring to charge that Soviet Russia was a totalitarian regime; (3) as a member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization. The latter was a Communist-serving front set up during the Stalin-Hitler "peace pact" and declared as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark and other official agencies.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has listed O'Connor as affiliated with a front called Friends of the Soviet Union (in the '30's) of which his present co-chairman, Corliss Lamont, was President. HUAC also lists him as one who signed a statement carried by the New York Times (5/19/30) protesting "the Red scare" which had been aroused by exposure of Communist activity. Again HUAC reports former Communist head, Benjamin Gitlow, as testifying: "And some of the Federated Press people became members of the Communist Party, like Harvey O'Connor and some others". Among other HUAC citations for O'Connor were his connection with the largest of all the Communist-fronts known as the American League for Peace and Democracy; also the Stalinoid front called National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (a successor to the International Labor Defense which was a branch of International Red Aid in Moscow).

Further introduction to Harvey O'Connor is taken from a feature article in the Communist Worker (11/17/57) titled "O'Connor, the Crusader" wherein he unburdened his feelings for Congressional investigating committees by saying - "We'll not be free again until the curse of the subversive committees in Congress is lifted... That's why the ECLC has launched a national campaign to abolish the oldest of the inquisitorial bodies, the Un-American Activities Committee". Since this appeared in the Communist Worker, the conjecture as to who is meant by "We'll not be free until..." is not difficult to make. From the foregoing it is quite understandable why Harvey O'Connor is heading this drive to abolish the House investigating committee.

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Next in line in ECLC is the Vice Chairman, Corliss Lamont, the well known "Socialist" scion of the late millionaire banker Thomas Lamont. As a penthouse proletarian Lamont is in the forefront. It may have been his academic sense of guilt over the family fortune (which he seems delighted to have) that caused him to write an article in the Communist "New Masses" magazine (August, 1939) titled "Why Members of the Upper Class Go Left". And that was not all he wrote for the Stalinoid magazine. In the March 4, 1941 issue he had an article titled "What Makes a Radical". In the same magazine for July, September and October of 1940, Lamont had three articles. One was titled "How Socialism Planning Works" and the other two were captioned "In Socialist America". In these he undertook to explain just how "coming" Socialism would operate in America. The editor of New Masses in that magazine (10/1/40) said he had received a letter "from Corliss Lamont who found warm words of praise for A. B. Magil's article on Stalin". This A. B. Magil praised by Lamont, was a dedicated Communist functionary and a Stalinist sycophant. A full page ad in this same New Masses (12/10/40) announced a "New Masses Ball" in New York with a "come-on" appeal to "Mingle with" some fifteen names listed, most of whom were well known Communist writers or functionaries. Mixed in with these names was that of Corliss Lamont.

In November, 1937 (a New Deal year when Communism was rolling high in this country) Corliss Lamont headed a group of more than 10,000 who crowded Madison Square Garden in New York to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Communist rule in Russia. The following month Professor Lamont led another large gathering of Reds and Red sympathizers to celebrate the adoption of a new constitution by the Soviet Union.

Lamont once wrote a book titled "You Might Like Socialism - A Way of Life for Modern Man". After pleading his pet socialist thesis with Ivory-tower naivete and childish fatuity through 301 pages he offers this Lenin-Stalin cliche: "Thus Socialism will eventually give way to Communism and Communism to an even higher form of social organization". The Communist New Masses (9/19/39) in a review of this book said it "makes a timely and illuminating contribution to the understanding of the world crisis". (Two hearts that beat as one, shall we say?)

Another significant article that Lamont had in New Masses (11/14/39) was titled "On Means and End", defending the Soviet Union's march into Poland and also the infamous Stalin-Hitler pact diplomacy. In this Lamont said: "Anyone who during the last two months has discussed the role of the Soviet Union in the present international crisis must have been struck with the number of amateur moralists who have suddenly sprung into being". He was referring to some of the "liberal" fellow travelers whose stomachs had been turned by the sudden announcement in August (1939) of the Stalin-Hitler "love match" - an act of typical perfidy by two despotic dictators. But Corliss did not lose faith in the Stalin regime and continued to worship at the Kremlin shrine. After this "friendship" compact of the two tyrants turned sour with Hitler attacking Russia, Lamont and the Stalinist faithfuls continued their pro-Soviet propaganda crusade. For that it will be interesting to look at certain Front-maneuvering in which Lamont had a major role.

The Daily Worker (7/23/38) carried a story about the formation of the American Council on Soviet Relations which organization the paper said: "was announced at a dinner party of

275 friends of the Soviet Union held... to hear Corliss and Margaret Lamont report on their recent trip to the Soviet Union". The story described Lamont as "head of the American Friends of the Soviet Union" and quoted him as saying - "Socialism and its story are just beginning in the Soviet Union". Lamont's "Friends of the Soviet Union" had also published a booklet by him titled "Socialist Planning in Soviet Russia" which had been printed in the same shop (union label 209) with Communist Party papers. This Friends of the Soviet Union had been created in 1929 by changing the name of an organization called Friends of Soviet Russia which in turn had been set up, according to the record, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (USA) in 1921.

Benjamin Gitlow, a founder and for many years head of the Communist Party (USA) in his book "I Confess" said, "The payroll of the Friends of Soviet Russia was swamped with Party Bureaucrats... practically everyone working on the large staff of the Friends of Soviet Russia was either a Party member or one who carried out Party instructions". In February of 1932 this F.S.U. started a magazine called "Soviet Russia Today" with two Communist stalwarts (A. A. Heller and Marcel Scherer) in charge. Sometime later Jessica Smith (wife of John Abt, a lawyer once prominent in the New Deal and exposed by Whittaker Chambers for Communist cell activity) became the magazine's editor. By 1938 this "Soviet Russia Today" had increased its Editorial Board to include Corliss Lamont along with well known Communists like A. A. Heller, Robert W. Dunn and others. Lamont continued to help fill its pages with pro-Soviet articles through the years. On March 22, 1951 the Daily Worker carried a story headed "Soviet Russia Today' Changes Name to 'New World Review'." Jessica Smith has continued as editor with well known Communists and veteran fellow-travelers as contributors - including Corliss Lamont.

According to the Daily Worker (11/4/54) Lamont, who had previously been indicted for Contempt of Congress (for refusing to answer pertinent questions under oath) organized a "Bill of Rights Fund" putting \$50,000 in escrow to start it toward the million mark. The purpose was to help those in trouble over "civil rights" issues and from a list of "grants" by this Fund as announced in The Nation (5/5/56) it would appear that most of the help has been given either to known Communists or people in trouble over Communist issues. Corliss and his wife Margaret joined in the "party line" crusade to "stop the Bomb tests" by publishing in 1958 a booklet titled "To End Nuclear Bomb Tests". This urged "Americans by the millions" to put pressure on Congress and the Administration to stop these tests in apparent disregard of the disastrous effects such propaganda (and stoppage) might have on this country in its struggle with the Soviet enemy.

Further, in bringing Lamont right up to date, the Communist Worker (11/2/58) said - "Corliss Lamont, candidate for Senator on the Independent-Socialist Party ticket, has in recent radio speeches demanded that U.S. forces be withdrawn from Formosa". This, of course, is precisely what the Red regimes in Moscow and Peiping have been demanding. As to his 1958 candidacy "for Senator" - a group of stalwarts-of-the-Left called a meeting in New York (June, 1958) "To launch a United Independent Socialist State Ticket for 1958".

This was announced in The Worker (6/8/58). The purpose was an effort to amalgamate the various fragments of New York city's contentious and bellicose socialists of all brands (who are usually engaged in internecine warfare) into some kind of political unity. Mixed in with these activists were a number of Communist shills who maneuvered to control the situation to improve their shattered political front. This, however, was hindered by what the old-line Stalinists called a "Trotskyite" bloc. The Communists in arguing their objective for a single "peace candidate" (Worker, (11/2/58) stated their choice as preferably Dr. Corliss Lamont". Apparently they got their choice.

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, in his own testimony when he was being questioned about Communist fronts to which he belonged, said he responded to an invitation from Corliss Lamont to join the American-Soviet Friendship apparatus although this organization had been repeatedly exposed and was declared subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947. But the strange part of Oxnam's response to Lamont was Lamont's known stand on religion. He has written such books as "The Illusion of Immortality" and a "Humanist Funeral Service" for "families who can no longer accept the old supernatural ceremonies centering around Death".

There isn't space to catalog all of the citations the House Committee on Un-American Activities has given to Corliss Lamont. In HUAC's Index he is listed around 100 times. This may indicate why Lamont is so keenly interested in the mission to abolish HUAC: In the long record of Lamont's affiliations as listed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities are such well known front-organizations (besides those already mentioned) as the American League Against War and Fascism and its successor the American League for Peace and Democracy; National People's Committee Against Hearst; Committee to Aid Vic-

tims of German Fascism; Committee for Unemployment and Social Insurance; the Mother Bloor Banquet (she was long a top Communist activist); League of American Writers; John Reed Memorial Meeting (Reed was an American Communist whose body now lies in the Kremlin); signed letter to Congress and the President (published as full page ad in Daily Worker, 3/5/41) protesting the "attitude of our Government toward the Communist Party"; signed a letter (January, 1943) opposing renewal of the "Dies" congressional investigating committee; etc., etc. All of which acquaints us fairly well with Corliss Lamont and his interest in abolishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The General Counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is a New York lawyer named Leonard Boudin, who is also on the Executive Committee of the National Lawyer's Guild which HUAC characterized in a special report as a "foremost bulwark of the Communist Party" because of the regularity with which it and numerous of its members have served or defended Communists. HUAC also lists Boudin as testifying before Congress that the Taft-Hartley Act required non-Communist oath for labor leaders is an insult. Boudin's name appeared with others in the Daily Worker (3/5/41) in Defense of the Communist Party at the time when dissatisfaction with Communists over the Hitler-Stalin pact was critical. He has represented Abraham Glasser, Lionel Stander and others when they have appeared for questioning before the House Committee (HUAC).

The foregoing documentation concerning the four leading officers of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which is now leading the drive to do away with the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) will serve to give better understanding to those interested in the nature of this "Emergency" organization as well as its operating personnel. The reasons for their activity may be made somewhat clearer by this documentation.



Working with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, as a coadjutant west-coast agency, is an apparatus called Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, located in Los Angeles. This was organized by the Rev. A. A. Heist (Methodist) after he quit as director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union. He is listed many times by the House Committee (HUAC) and also by the California legislative investigating committee. (Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, with California listings, has lately been shown as President.) The other main functionary is Frank Wilkinson, Secretary. Wilkinson was interrogated in 1952 by the California Legislative investigating committee about his activities and associations with numerous organizations of Communist or pro-Communist nature. To most questions he refused an answer. When asked the \$64 question - "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?" he replied: "I decline to answer on the basis of grounds previously stated".

During the summer of 1958 the House Committee on Un-American Activities had scheduled hearings in Atlanta, Georgia to investigate Communist activities in that area. Wilkinson had been hurriedly sent there by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to harass HUAC's investigation. HUAC subpoenaed him and again he balked at answering questions about his own Communist affiliations. The Communist "People's World" (1/3/59) carried quite a story about Wilkinson's troubles resulting from his defiance of HUAC at Atlanta. It appears that Wilkinson, who has been leg-man for Emergency CLC's crusade to harass and abolish the House Committee, was called by phone to Princeton, N.J. in December (1958) to "participate in a private meeting of influential citizens interested in helping advance the abolition campaign against the Un-Americans". From New York Wilkinson called his Princeton contacts who told him he would "be put up at the private home of a very distinguished and influential citizen who was one of those interested in abolishing the un-Americans". Wilkinson was told by his Princeton friends that a "U.S. Marshall has already been here looking for you. He has a copy of an Atlanta indictment to serve on you". Wilkinson's further activities as leg-man for "Operation Abolish" can be gleaned from the following documentation.

On the regular church calendar at the Los Angeles First Unitarian Church (11/9/58) there was an announcement that at 2 pm in the church's Channing Hall Frank Wilkinson would report on the campaign to abolish the House Committee (HUAC) and explained that he had been on a year's leave of absence to direct this national campaign for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The First Unitarian church which hosted this Wilkinson report has a long record of permitting pro-Communist meetings and pro-Communist speakers. The pastor, Stephen Fritchman, cited more than 50 times by HUAC for his affiliations and activities has refused under oath to reply to the question as to whether he is a Communist.

At this meeting Wilkinson gave an extensive report on the work being done to abolish the House investigating committee. He explained he had been called into this service by Harvey

O'Connor and Corliss Lamont. Part of the program was to be present at any place where HUAC was to hold hearings - to mobilize local oppositions - usually working through American Civil Liberties Union groups - and do everything possible to create a local bad impression for the Congressional investigators. He also described the Communist-serving fight to force the State Department to issue passports. As a result, decisions by the Supreme Court have forced the State Department to issue over 600 passports to people who would otherwise have been banned for Communist-issue causes. Some of these are now returning to this country with glowing propaganda reports of the Soviet countries and their governments. This may have far reaching effect upon the certain mass groups here. There are other and even greater dangers in such unrestrained traveling abroad. Wilkinson explained how the "fine decisions" of the Supreme Court have changed the whole social climate and because of this he thought there was a better chance than ever before to do away with the investigating committees.

Wilkinson's big announcement at this meeting, however, was to explain how 100,000 American Civil Liberties Union petitions to abolish the House investigating committee (HUAC) were being pushed in California and that signatures were being sought especially in the districts of conservative congressmen to influence them. He passed out sample petitions and urged all present to get busy securing signatures. He explained also that in a few days Alan Barth, editorial director of the Meyer papers in Washington (Times-Herald and Washington Post) would be in California to make kick-off speeches for this petition drive. Barth did appear at several meetings, giving words of comfort and aid to the drive. He spoke at the Pasadena City College under the auspices of the highly controversial American Civil Liberties Union - and contributions were invited. This is a violation of permit and it has happened several times before at the College. The use of College premises for meetings to mobilize sentiment against our Congressional agencies is inexcusable.

At the Los Angeles meeting (11/9/58) where Frank Wilkinson announced the petition drive to abolish HUAC he also announced that Congressman James Roosevelt had promised the group that he would "cooperate in the offering of a resolution... to eliminate the Un-American Activities Committee". This Roosevelt statement was printed on the petition. Wilkinson was a bit skeptical about the word "cooperate" but he felt sure Jimmy would go through with it. True to promise Rep. Roosevelt did on January 12th, 1959, take the floor on behalf of a resolution he had filed "to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities..." The record seems clear that Mr. Roosevelt was responding to persuasion and influence from sources that have been clearly identified and described in this report.

WHAT IS THIS AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION?

Since the American Civil Liberties Union is teamed up with a so-called Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in a campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities - and since the record on the latter has been examined, it is proper and important that a good long look be taken at ACLU.

The American Legion is long on record as having requested a Congressional investigation of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) for its persistent record of aiding and abetting Communists. The Legion has called upon ACLU to prove its allegation that the "Communist Party in the United States does not constitute a danger", which statement was offered in a brief filed by ACLU with the Supreme Court in urging the Court to reverse the conviction of 16 Communist leaders prosecuted and convicted under the Smith Act.

The history of the American Civil Liberties Union is interesting - and revealing. Its antecedent history and its beginning are well covered in more than 1,000 pages of the large 4-volume "Lusk Report" issued by a New York State Legislative investigating committee in 1920. As many more pages could be used to cover the record of ACLU since that time.

Here briefly is a capsule antecedent record of forces and processes out of which ACLU was born. Organized Socialism in this country developed during the ten years prior to - and the ten years after the turn of the century. It came with the largely unrestricted immigration from Eastern Europe - and the gradual influence of these radical leaders on our own native liberal intellectuals - especially in the college and university faculties. Then came World War I (1914 - 1918) with German agents (during the first part of that war) working in this country to stir up latent pacifism. Socialism and pacifism are closely related and out of these two forced in ferment came the rise of forces and ideologies in America that had not been previously active.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 brought the Bolshevik-Communist Party into being – and power. Bolshevism (Marxian Socialism) that up to then had been represented mainly by sporadic gangs or rag-tag soap boxers soon became a force with direful potentials because a small despotic clique, had by the accident of circumstances, seized the resources of a vast country. This made them a force to be reckoned with. It soon became clear that their purpose was world revolution – conquest of the world for a certain brand of Socialism. In 1919 the Russian Bolsheviks created an agency-octopus called the Communist Internationale (Comintern) to penetrate and work in all countries to spread subversion and destroy other forms of Government. Through these tactics, plus force, they have succeeded in establishing tyrannical hegemony over one-third of the world's population.

Up to 1919 the Socialist movement in America had been known as the "Red" party. Socialism here, led by such Eastern European immigrants as Sidney Hillman, Morris Hillquit and others, had developed considerable momentum. It was easy for the Bolshevik agents to make hay in this field. Boring from within they soon mobilized a strong "Left Wing" in the American Socialist Party and at the Socialist Convention in Chicago (Sept. 1, 1919) tried to capture the organization to make it the American branch of the world Communist movement. Not having a strong enough segment to "take over" the Socialist party, the "Left Wing" pulled out and organized independently – then and there. Actually the Left Wing segment itself split and two "Communist parties" were organized which later were forced to merge under orders from Moscow. This revolutionary movement (dominated by Moscow) has continued to be a disruptive force and villainous threat to our way of life – inside our nation. This is the great internal danger our country has had to face – and defend against. Our defenses against this peril are being attacked by certain individuals and groups that carry on under such pious dis- guises as pretending to work for "civil liberties" – for "labor" – for "peace and democracy". This background will help clarify the following documentation.



The Lusk Report, already mentioned, (p. 1979) says: "Anyone who has read Part I of this report will be convinced that there are a large number of groups in this country engaged in an effort to undermine our institutions, to weaken property rights and to set up in place of government by a majority, a government controlled by a militant minority." This analysis would apply today as well as it did in 1920 when the report was published.

The Lusk Report went on to explain that many of these agitators and subversives had been prosecuted by both Federal and State governments – and that many aliens engaged in revolutionary activity had been deported – but that this protective action "has been loudly condemned by organized groups of liberals who, by reason of their access to the public prints, have created a wide-spread sentiment in favor of free speech, so-called". Again the picture is perfect as of today.

The Report then stated: "At the present time these advocates of free speech have consolidated their energies in an organization known as the 'AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION'." The Director of this new amalgamation of agitational forces was Roger N. Baldwin. The Lusk Committee invited Baldwin to submit a statement of ACLU's creed and purposes. This he did and the statement was an amazing revelation. It showed that this group in its fetish-worship of "free speech" (by its own interpretation) called for freedom to advocate the overthrow of Government by force and violence – and even the "advocacy of murder".

The history of this American Civil Liberties Union is well outlined in a book by one of its founders who was also Secretary of ACLU from its beginning up to fairly recently. The book, "Education of an American Liberal," is by Lucille Milner who explains that she was born in St. Louis and brought up in wealth and "grand style". Her grandfather, Samuel Bernheimer, she also explains was born in Austria and likewise came from wealthy parentage. Early in life she entered the social work field after a course at the New York School of Philanthropy – and she also took courses at the socialist Rand School in New York. "Socialism," she says, was in the air everywhere those days and the more she heard and read about it the more it interested her.

Soon, through a friend, she met Roger Baldwin who was then a young probation officer in St. Louis. He gave her a job. She states that at this time Baldwin called himself a "philosophical anarchist". Later Baldwin became head of something called the Civil Rights Bureau made up of an ideological grouping of pacifists and socialists mainly in New York.

Later Baldwin was sent to prison for resisting military service. During the year he was in jail he wrote Lucille Milner that he was much concerned about his friend Emma Goldman, the noted anarchist, who was then serving time under an Espionage Act sentence. Lucille tells how she tricked her way into the prison to learn about "Red" Emma and give her a message from Baldwin.

Just before Roger Baldwin was to be released from prison he confided to Lucille Milner that if he should go back into "civil liberties work" he wanted to reorganize the old Civil Liberties Bureau on a basis to deal with post-war problems. He wanted her to help him. The war had ended and from their viewpoints the situation was bad. She writes dramatically that "bands of vigilantes" made up of business men, Legionnaires, and others were "spreading terror". Federal and State authorities were prosecuting members of the revolutionary I.W.W. as well as the newly formed Communist Party. Something had to be done. Into this situation their civil-liberties group "threw its full strength" and "fought to the bitter end".

To carry out Roger Baldwin's ideas as to reorganization, the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU) was organized January 12, 1920 out of a prior organization known as the National Civil Liberties Bureau of which Baldwin had also been directing head. This "Bureau" had in turn been composed of a Left-liberal-pacifist grouping known as the American Union Against Militarism - and Baldwin had been its director. These aggregations, according to the Lusk Report, had been "very popular with the drove of slackers, pro-Germans, Socialists, etc., who grasped at any chance to pose as conscientious objectors". This is a capsule picture of the rootage and beginning of the American Civil Liberties Union.

With the foregoing in mind it is interesting to note what Lucille Milner, as one of the ACLU organizers, has to say in her book about ACLU's original membership. "It was a strangely assorted group," she writes and mentions Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School (later a champion of the Mooney-Billings and the Sacco-Vanzetti cases and still later a top strategist in the Roosevelt New Deal); William Z. Foster of the 1919 steel strike (who has long been head of the Communist Party here and who in 1930, when asked about his loyalty to the American flag, answered by saying: "The Red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class and we are part of the revolutionary class"); Elizabeth Gurley Flynn then of the I.W.W. but who for years has been a top Communist leader in this country; and Dr. Harry Ward of Union Theological Seminary who was ACLU's first Chairman - with Roger Baldwin as Director.



Since Dr. Ward has been an important officer, or influential member, of ACLU from its inception - and with Roger Baldwin was largely responsible for its policies and structure - it is important to take note of Dr. Harry Ward's record. First, for thirty or more years, he was one of America's most influential "liberal" clergymen (Methodist) and wielded great power over young clergymen who were under him at Union Theological Seminary. In the Communist "Worker" (1/14/45) Dr. Ward was interviewed by a veteran Communist scribe, Art Shields, in the office of Alex Trachtenberg who is head of the Communist publishing house International Publishers. Ward said he "got acquainted with Marx" when he had a church near the Chicago stockyards about 12 years after he came to this country. He said he read the Communist Manifesto (the Communist "bible") about 40 years before this interview in 1945 and that he had "accepted the Socialist analysis ever since". Accepting the "socialist analysis" out of the Communist Manifesto could, of course, mean only one thing.

In his book "Democracy and Social Change" (1940) Dr. Ward presents an unmistakably pro-Communist slant throughout. In castigating the House investigating committee, Ward says (p. 137) "the work of the Dies Committee culminates in legislative proposals designed to destroy the Communist Party . . . To do this of course is to cut the heart out of our democracy . . ." He wrote this while he was Chairman of ACLU.

Dr. Ward was for many years head of the largest Communist-front organization ever to flourish in this country - the American League for Peace and Democracy - and this was also while he was Chairman of ACLU. He was the organizer and for many years Chairman of the Methodist Federation for Social Action which has rarely deviated from the Communist "party line". This also was while he was Chairman of ACLU. He is author of such books as "Soviet Democracy", "The Soviet Spirit" and innumerable articles in Left-wing magazines. He has long been one of the most articulate Soviet and Communist apologists in America. He has more than 200 listings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION of today is largely a portraiture in all its shades and colors of the organization set up in 1920 by Roger Baldwin, Harry Ward and the pacifistic - socialistic group who sponsored it. There has been essentially no change in the character and objectives of the organization - or the spirit of its directing personnel. The ONE DIFFERENCE, perhaps, is that as our American people have developed an affluent flabbiness with a consequent blissful unawareness, ACLU has corralled a rather substantial backlog of contributing benefactors whose cups of benignity overfloweth into currents of support and action they do not always understand. This trusting backlog of intellectual and socialite notables contribute more than just money. They constitute a facade of respectability that serves both as window-dressing and enticement.

To understand the American Civil Liberties Union it is important to know about Roger Baldwin for he, more than any other individual, has contributed the ideas and influence that make ACLU what it is today. For thirty years he was its directing head - and today is an important member and its patron saint. Baldwin's pacifism was expressed in his draft evasion in World War I for which he went to prison. His socialism is well reflected in something he wrote in a Harvard reunion book at the 30th anniversary of his 1905 class. To do justice to his socialistic philosophy the statement should be given in full, but space permits only this: "My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment . . . Therefore I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal." Nothing could be much plainer.

In these days when "liberals" like to refer irreverently to anti-Communists as "super-patriots" it is interesting to note a letter from Roger Baldwin to a Louis P. Lochner, as quoted in the Lusk Reports. Lochner was a highly active socialist and organizer working in the same social milieu that engaged Baldwin and his "civil liberties" paladins of that early period. In this letter Baldwin was counseling Lochner in the setting up of a "People's Council Convention" then being arranged:

"Do steer away from making it look like a Socialist enterprise . . . You can, of course, avoid this by bringing to the front people like Senator Works, Miss Addams, and others, who are known as substantial Democrats . . . We want also to look patriots in everything we do. We want to get a good lot of flags, talk a great deal about the Constitution and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country, and to show that we are really the folks that really stand for the spirit of the Constitution.

Roger Baldwin, as directing head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was called before a Congressional investigating committee in 1930. He refused to take an oath (and was affirmed) because he stated: "I do not believe in a God that punishes me for not telling the truth". When asked if he were "sympathetic with the Communist aims and principles," he replied: "I decline to answer". Baldwin was asked: "You do uphold the right of an alien to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?" He replied: "Sure; certainly. It is the healthiest kind of thing for a country, of course, to have free speech - unlimited".

In the Social-Democratic Federation magazine "New Leader" (7/3/48) Roger Baldwin had a long article opposing the then proposed Mundt-Nixon bill to restrain Communists and presented arguments against any type of legislation designed to expose, hamper or prosecute Communists. His astounding reason was: "Anti-Communism too often becomes anti-democratic". Presumably, then, the Communists must be left free to go ahead and destroy us.

In another socialistic publication, "The Progressive" (April, '49), ACLU's Baldwin had an article titled "Communist Conspirators and the Bill of Rights". In this he protested the trial of the 11 Communist leaders then being tried by Judge Medina in New York. Baldwin wrote: "Any way you look at it, no good can come out of this trial, and much harm is inevitable . . . the spectacle of our Government as the holy inquisitor of 'Marxism-Lenism' can inspire only misgivings as to its political good sense". It seems clear that Baldwin, speaking for the American Civil Liberties Union, would not have our Government undertake any kind of protection against the Communist conspiracy. Further evidence of this appeared in the Communist "Daily Worker" (11/11/49) in an article headed "Politics Inspired '11' Trial, Baldwin Tells AJC Parley". The paper reported Baldwin as speaking before the American Jewish Congress in part as follows: "Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, yesterday expressed the hope that the highest courts would undo what Judge Medina and the Foley Square jury have done".

In the pro-Soviet magazine "Soviet Russia Today" (Sept., 1934) - a magazine already mentioned in relation to Corliss Lamont - Baldwin answered what may have been a critical directive from certain Communist quarters by saying: "I, too, take a class position. It is anti-capitalist and pro-revolutionary. I believe in non-violent methods of struggle as most effective in the long run for building successful working class power. Where they cannot be followed or where they are not even permitted by the ruling class, obviously only violent tactics remain . . . The class struggle is the central conflict of the world; all others are incidental". That is plain enough for anyone who knows the score at all - but he made it even plainer by adding - "When that power of the working class is once achieved, as it has been only in the Soviet Union, I am for maintaining it by any means whatever". There you have Mr. Roger Baldwin speaking as head of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Around 1950 Baldwin retired as directing head of ACLU (becoming Chairman of its National Committee) to devote himself to the larger scope of "civil liberties" on an International scale. Later he became active head of something called "International League for the Rights of Man", a United Nations consultive agency. Although ACLU's Roger Baldwin is listed more than 100 times in the Index of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (all affiliations documented in detail in the Congressional Record, 5/26/52) he claims to be non-Communist and it is not the purpose here to label him otherwise. The record as given here must speak for itself. One does not have to be a Communist to serve well the Communist cause. Lenin said - "We must build Communism with non-Communist hands". The "Front" movement was designed for that purpose - and it has been highly effective among our naive do-gooders and breast-beating "liberals". As to ACLU and Roger Baldwin the New York Times once said the two were synonymous.

Roger Baldwin was succeeded as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union by Patrick M. Malin whose interest in such a militant "liberal" movement as ACLU may have been greatly influenced by his earlier experience as secretary (beginning in 1924) to the well known social crusader and idealist, Sherwood Eddy. The jacket on one of Eddy's books states - "He has led a stormy life as practicing evangelist, socialist, humanitarian". Current History (Nov. '26) carried an article by Eddy titled "An Endorsement of the Soviet Republic". In this he urged the recognition of Soviet Russia.

In 1931 Eddy wrote a book titled "The Challenge of Russia". Eugene Lyons, in the Red Decade, said Eddy was going about telling his liberal audiences that there was healthy trade union democracy in Russia when actually slave labor was the order of the day. Lyons also reported that Eddy gave the Daily Worker an interview supporting the Stalin treason trials where the Red dictator liquidated his old pals to get them out of his way. Mr. Eddy, of that period, was typical of so many of our naive and pliable liberals of today. ACLU, under Malin, is clearly carrying out its traditional objectives and has not changed its ideologies or purposes in any way. Malin militantly directs the program as of old.



Out of approximately 170,000,000 people in this country only some 40,000 are "members" of the American Civil Liberties Union and yet it is doubtful if any other similarly sized group wields as much influence in a special field of effort. Because of this public impress it is in the public interest that the work and purposes of such a group should be well known.

One reason for the peculiar and significant strength of the ACLU group is its constituency of dedicated "liberals" (professors, ministers, lawyers, writers and intellectuals of various kinds) who enjoy a certain degree of prominence and prestige - and through their particular facilities are able to give considerable support to the projects and activities of the ACLU core-management which carries out the planning of a small oligarchy. Perhaps the greatest strength of the organization comes from the eager and dedicated readiness of a battery of Left-liberal lawyers associated with it throughout the country to start law suits and jump into any legal fray where or when there is a cause to be served that fits into the ACLU purpose.

Down through the years the roster of officers, directors and sponsors of ACLU has shown a strange mixture of Socialists, Communists and liberal-intellectuals who appear to be charged with a Messianic impulse to evangelize and spread certain doctrines with an emphasis on change by pressure and compulsion. It seems that the professional "civil liberties" champions start with the assumption that the "Left" is liberal (or libertarian) and anyone Right of Left is an oppressor in the "hoofs and horns" class.

If we give the American Civil Liberties Union group the benefit of being sincere, even though naive and astigmatic in their civil-liberties idolatry, we can still see their support of Communists and Communist causes as a great danger to national security and the "civil liberties" of the great majority.

The American Civil Liberties Union people should explain why it is necessary for them, a self-appointed group, to go about begging money, much of which is spent for the defense of Communists when the Communist Party has dollars where they have pennies.



DOES A.C.L.U. SERVE THE COMMUNIST CAUSE?

The Lusk Report of 1920 has this to say: "The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the state. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

At the National Congress level there is House Report 2290, 71st Congress, 3rd session, Jan. 17, 1931, Pursuant to H. Res. 220 which states: "The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 per cent of its efforts are on behalf of communists who have come into difficulty with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of A.C.L.U. is to attempt to protect the communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag by a red flag . . ."

The California Senate Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1943 Report, said: "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization. At least 90 per cent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law . . ."

The New York American (10/17/35) in a long editorial on ACLU titled "UNMASKED" gave this revealing definition: "Whenever a patriotic bill is introduced in Congress or in a State Legislature, the American Civil Liberties Union almost always pops up in opposition. Whenever a movement is under way to repeal such a measure, the American Civil Liberties Union will usually be found vociferously demanding repeal. Whenever a deportable alien falls into Federal custody, and is likely to be shipped back where he belongs, the American Civil Liberties Union is generally discovered to be the 'organization' that sends a lawyer to his aid."

A top official of the Southern California branch of ACLU openly stated at an ACLU sponsored meeting in Pasadena (7/8/58) that the major part of ACLU's defense efforts were on behalf of Communists. When asked from the floor if he had been heard correctly, he acknowledged he had and explained that Communists are more involved in "civil liberties" than others. That being the case, it logically follows that if the Communist Party did not exist there would be little reason, by the record, for the existence of ACLU. With so little outside of Communist issues to make a fuss about or to work on it would, in the nature of things, be difficult to collect funds or hold a following. For those who make a career and a living out of this, it would seem fortunate that there are Communist issues to give the illusion that ACLU is a "needed" organization. There are thousands of cases like the one where a radio network refused to carry the speech of Mr. Herbert Kohler (on the Dean Manion program) to discuss the union's attempt to destroy his business, in which ACLU manifests little interest.

The American Civil Liberties Union (Southern California branch) held a "Salute to the Supreme Court" meeting on the evening of July 25, 1958 in the Cafeteria room of the University of Southern California. The purpose of the meeting was to exult and "take credit" for the Supreme Court decision declaring invalid the California Loyalty Oath. One of the speakers was A. L. Wirin, the ACLU attorney who carried the case to the high court on behalf of the Rev. Stephen Fritchman (First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles) who refused to answer the \$64 question for the House Committee investigators. At this July 25th meeting, great joy was manifested by the sui-generis crowd of some 150 persons loyal to that particular and inglorious cause.

It is very difficult for many to understand why some who pose as "liberals" are so bitterly opposed to "loyalty" oaths for those who hold positions with public responsibility. It is traditional in our way of life that people taking important positions of trust will take an oath of office. This has always been accepted as a duty and an honor.

With the rise of Communism and socialism, however, has come this pious furor and rabid denunciation of loyalty oaths. Why? Objection to a loyalty oath, where public responsibility is concerned, is almost as hard to understand as is the case of an individual who, when officially questioned as to whether or not he is a Communist, refuses to answer. It would seem that any real American would be so proud of his status that he would be glad to answer the \$64 question with a resounding "No!". If he dodges that question - or makes a fuss about oaths of duty - can he object when a loyal American public roundly condemns and denounces him? What do you think?

DO THE COMMUNISTS CAPITALIZE A.C.L.U.'S HELP?

The best answer to the question "How important and valuable do the Communists consider the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union?" can be had by referring to the Communist press. Any time the Communist papers give favorable mention to anything it is because that particular thing (person, organization or project) is serving their cause. This is historic and unchallengeable.

The following items have been selected either from the Communist press (as identified) or, in a few cases, from some authentic source that gives important data on ACLU's Communist-serving activities.

STARTING WITH 1935 - the American Civil Liberties Union issued a 3-page "Call to Action" manifesto which urged vigorous opposition to any and all bills in Congress or State Legislatures which would make criminal the advocacy of the overthrow of Government by force or violence - or which would provide punishment for those who encourage disobedience to orders by military or naval forces; or which would outlaw from the ballot any political party which advocates the overthrow of government; or which would require oaths of loyalty from school teachers.

DAILY WORKER (11/9/39) Headline: "Civil Liberties Union Hits Dies for Publishing List of Peace League." This story took Congressman Dies to the woodshed for announcing a list of members of the largest and most active Communist-front in this country - the American League for Peace and Democracy. In the same issue D.W. carried a story by Communist Chairman Wm. Z. Foster, with streamer headline - "The Dies Committee: National Menace."

A CHICAGO PAPER (11/20/39) reported the picketing of certain churches in New York by Stalinist sympathizers where the members had shown opposition to the Stalin-Hitler pact. Mayor La Guardia stopped the picketing and announced, "There is no right to picket God". The paper stated that the American Civil Liberties Union (which it said frequently "confounds liberty with license") protested the Mayor's action by saying - "We are particularly disturbed that you should arrogate to yourself the right to determine that peaceful picketing is improper in relation to certain kinds of controversies..."

DAILY WORKER (9/7/40) Headline: "Civil Liberties Union Scores Browder Ban - Denounces Court Ruling as 'Denial of Essential Democratic Rights'." The story concerned a ruling by Federal Judge John C. Knox prohibiting Communist leader Earl Browder from conducting a campaign tour as a Communist candidate for public office at a time when he was under bail.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (2/10/42) Shows that the American Civil Liberties Union sent a letter to "Members of Congress" abusing the record of the Dies Committee (that did so much under New Deal restraints to expose Communists) and ending with this demand: "The resolution to continue the Dies Committee must be defeated. We ask your cooperation."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (4/9/43) The story here exposed the American Civil Liberties Union as denouncing America's military administration which had summoned several individuals for questioning to determine whether or not their pro-Communist records would justify removing them from the critical eastern military area during World War II. Judge for yourself the meaning of ACLU's action in this.

CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE (1/9/47) "In the state of California the American Civil Liberties Union is reported by the press to have initiated legal action designed to stop the singing of Christmas carols in the public schools." This would favor other groups besides the atheistic Communists - but it is strange to find so many Christian ministers in the ACLU membership.

DAILY WORKER (2/26/47) "The American Civil Liberties Union has protested the arrest of Gerhard Eisler in a letter to Attorney General Tom Clark." Eisler was the Soviet agent who remained in the shadowy background here for several years translating Soviet orders to the local Communists. He wrote "directive" articles under the name of Hans Berger and used such aliases as Samuel Liptsen, Julius Eisman, etc.). Strange action by ACLU.

CHICAGO SUN (3/3/47) "The American Civil Liberties Union today denounced proposed legislation for establishing a federal loyalty commission with power to oust federal employees on subversive charges without review by civil courts." The purpose would seem to be - make it as difficult as possible to get rid of those who have a bad record.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (4/30/47) "A bill before the Illinois General Assembly to create a seditious activities investigating commission was attacked here yesterday by the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and the Chicago Division of the American Civil Liberties Union."

NEW YORK TIMES (6/16/47) "The American Civil Liberties Union joined labor groups yesterday in urging President Truman to veto the (Taft-Hartley) measure as a 'direct violation of labor's civil rights'."

DAILY WORKER (2/11/48) This story reported that an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and "today opposed anti-Communist legislation as challenging 'the civil rights of all political minorities'." ACLU's lawyer was opposing the Mundt-Nixon bill which would require Communists to register as foreign agents.

HOLLYWOOD CITIZEN-NEWS (3/26/48) "A. A. Heist, director of So. Calif. branch of American Civil Liberties Union, makes public a letter he wrote Occidental College in criticism of the College's alleged support of 'a growing American fascism'." The reason for this charge of "growing fascism" was that Occidental had first rented, then withdrawn the use of a hall for a speech by a well known radical poet whose pro-Communist activities were notorious. The paper then quoted one of the poet's pieces titled "Goodby Christ" which called for - "Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova" to "beat it" and "make way for a new guy . . . named Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me -". Strange protest from a Christian (Methodist) minister - the Rev. A. A. Heist.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER (2/11/49) ". . . the American Civil Liberties Union yesterday issued a statement censuring the University of Washington's action in dismissing three faculty members and putting three others on probation." This astounding ACLU action was in the face of a State legislative investigation that produced conclusive proof of Communist party connections of the dismissed professors - one of whom had been under Communist discipline for 13 years while teaching. Such ACLU action defies and violates the "rights" of students to be free from dangerous concealed Communist agents.

DAILY WORKER (6/17/49) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday urged reorganization of the Industrial Employment Review Board to provide more safeguards for workers of private firms working on defense contracts. The Board handles charges against workers accused of 'disloyalty'." It seems clear here exactly what was intended by ACLU - more protection for disloyalty suspects.

DAILY WORKER (11/3/49) "The constitutionality of the House Committee on Un-American Activities will be challenged (Monday) in a brief filed with the U. S. Supreme Court by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice." This was action in defense of John Howard Lawson - one of the "Hollywood 10" and front-man in Hollywood when Communist activity there was at its height. He did not answer the question, "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" put to him by the House investigating committee, but the Secretary of that Committee stated in the procedure - "I have here, Mr. Chairman, over 100 exhibits showing Mr. Lawson's affiliations with the Party".

DAILY WORKER (1/9/50) "The Chicago Division of the American Civil Liberties Union has blasted the order of the U. S. Department of Defense to purge workers from their jobs in private industry on 'loyalty' grounds . . . The ACLU issued the statement after . . . the discharge of five workers by Stewart-Warner Corp. here because they refused to sign non-Communist affidavits." Hard to believe - but there it is.

DAILY WORKER (3/3/50) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday urged the State Department to grant entry visas to the world peace delegation." This plea was to admit a group of "unknowns" to a phony Communist-staged "peace front" headed by the foreign Communist Pablo Picasso.

DAILY WORKER (3/31/50) "ACLU Chiefs Assail Terror in Pittsburgh" described Roger Baldwin and his successor, P. M. Malin, as being in Pittsburgh to investigate and deal with the "local wave of anti-Communist terrorization" following the revelations of Matt Cvetic who had for several years been a Government undercover man working with the Communists. Strange mission.

DAILY WORKER (6/15/50) "The Civil Liberties Union has joined in the appeal of the 11 national Communist leaders." This story described an ACLU brief filed on behalf of the convicted Reds.

DAILY WORKER (8/7/50) "The Bridges Defense Committee today termed the imprisonment of Harry Bridges a 'lynching under the color of legal procedure' . . . the American Civil Liberties Union also protested the jailing." This was an action against the Left-wing west coast longshoremen's leader (some 400 listings by HUAC) in relation to vital shipping matters connected with the Korean war.

DAILY WORKER (8/14/50) Headline: "ACLU Urges Probe of Police Brutality at Union Square Rally." For those not acquainted with New York, Union Square is where the Communists have for years held their rallies - and soap box agitational oratory. This story quoted ACLU as saying: "In the misguided attempt to check Communist activities by curbing the right of expression local ordinances have been passed and other actions taken to ban Communist meetings and prevent the distribution of Communist literature."

DAILY WORKER (8/21/50) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday criticized a Westchester County Grand Jury report concerning the Peekskill attacks on a Paul Robeson concert." The Chicago Tribune (6/17/50) reporting on this Grand Jury action said the Jury accused the Communist Party of staging this Peekskill affair as a "proving ground for rehearsing its shock troops and goon squads in the greatest display of armed strength it had ever displayed in this country." The Tribune also said: "The Jury condemned a report on the riots by the American Civil Liberties Union, issued while the Grand Jury was in session . . . as 'scandalous, grossly misleading and inaccurate'."

DAILY WORKER (11/10/50) "A public school teacher is not guilty of 'misconduct' or 'insubordination' for refusing to answer the question 'Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?' the American Civil Liberties Union declared yesterday in a brief opposing the recent departmental trials of eight Teachers Union members." ACLU was apparently more interested in protecting the Communist teachers than the children.

BOSTON HERALD (11/28/50) "An order calling for abolition of the special commission created by the 1950 Legislature to make a \$10,000 investigation of Communist and Red-front activities in this state was filed yesterday in the House in behalf of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts." This abolition demand was accompanied by a petition signed by "more than 200 clergymen and educators and leaders in other professions". No wonder we have so much concern in this country about the Leftward trend in education and religion.

DAILY WORKER (6/28/51) "The American Civil Liberties Union announced yesterday it was in 'fundamental disagreement' with the U. S. Supreme Court decision upholding sections 2 and 3 of the Smith Act in the case of the 11 Communist leaders." ACLU, of course has no "fundamental disagreements" with the Court on its recent decisions which have helped the Communists more than anything since the "New Deal revolution".

DAILY WORKER (7/4/51) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday prepared a U. S. Supreme Court test of New Jersey's 'anti-Communist' oath aimed at teachers in public schools." In this case ACLU contended that such a required oath would tend to "straight jacket the American mind".

DAILY WORKER (7/10/51) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday called on President Truman to abandon the present 'loyalty' program and replace it with a specific security program." According to this D-W story ACLU was aroused over application of the loyalty program in relation to the Communist-front group called "Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee".

DAILY WORKER (10/18/51) "Southern California Civil Liberties Union Scores Los Angeles Hearing of House Un-Americans," was the D-W headline of a story about two of ACLU's California activists (Heist and Wirin) belaboring the House Committee (HUAC) for its investigations of Communists and Communist-front activities on the west coast.

DAILY WORKER (1/16/52) "Civil Liberties Union Files Brief for Baltimore Smith Act Victims" headlined another story of how the professional "civil liberties" groups rush in to aid Communists. In this case the "civil liberties" attorney was quoted by the Communist paper as saying - "the Communists in this country do not represent a clear and present danger". The American Legion called on ACLU to prove its allegation.

PEOPLE'S WORLD (1/18/52) "Oath Law Appeal Pushed" was the heading under which this west coast Communist paper ran a story of how a Seattle man, Tom Rabbit (identified as a Communist) failed to qualify to get on a ballot because he refused to sign a loyalty oath requirement. The paper announced that Sollie Ringold, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union had offered to join the fight to get Rabbit on the ballot.

DAILY WORKER (2/19/52) Headline: "ACLU Opens Fight on Passport Ban." According to the story, the American Civil Liberties Union urged repeal of the "passport provisions of the McCarran Act" and also demanded that the issuance of passports be mandatory on application. This demand was made after many passports had been refused because of Communist involvement.

DAILY WORKER (4/17/52) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday hit the House Committee on Un-American Activities for hounding peace advocates. The ACLU warned the movie industry against penalizing film people who refuse to answer committee questions." The "peace advocates" referred to were activists in some of the Communist inspired phony "peace" demonstrations which have bedeviled this country.

BROOKLYN TABLET (4/19/52) "The American Civil Liberties Union drew a stirring rebuke this week from the well known journalist, author and lecturer, Ralph deToledano, of its recent endeavor to use him as a foil in its insistence on compelling broadcasting companies to hire Communists." The story, quoting Mr. deToledano, explained how he, as an anti-Communist had been barred from a broadcast program - and how ACLU jumped into the publicized case with an unsolicited protest to give "a spurious cloak of 'impartiality' to its present vociferous campaign to thrust Communists, pro-Communists and fellow-travelers down the throats of the broadcasters".

N. Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN (5/8/52) "One of its own board members today excoriated the American Civil Liberties Union for its recent report attacking so-called blacklisting of alleged Communists and Red sympathizers in radio and television." This ACLU report published as a book "The Judges and the Judged" written for ACLU by one of its members and approved by its publication committee was strongly directed toward those who attempt to expose Communism.

DAILY WORKER (5/28/52) "The American Civil Liberties Union's 'program of action' directed at repeal of the Smith Act and similar legislation is outlined in an ACLU pamphlet just published." The D-W story quoted the booklet as saying: "The ACLU will urge the repeal of the Smith Act of 1940, and any similar state or local legislation, and will oppose any new laws of this kind . . ."

NEW LEADER (6/30/52) In a story in this liberal pro-labor journal, Daniel James turned the spotlight on ACLU's "liberalism". An American Civil Liberties Union meeting had been called to protest a N. Y. Board of Education ruling that city school buildings and grounds could not be used by the Communist-dominated N. Y. Teachers Union and other Communistic groups. The two speakers scheduled to lambast the Board's action were officials of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Ethical Culture Society. Mr. James was also invited to speak but because he disagreed with one section of the resolution to be passed he was given the works by the civil-liberties group including Rose Russell, top-commissar of the Teachers Union.

DAILY WORKER (7/21/52) Story in this issue told how American Civil Liberties Union had demanded that the Federal Communications Commission take action against radio and TV stations who "blacklisted" artists because of "political reasons". The meaning of this is quite obvious - defense of Communists on the air.

DAILY WORKER (8/7/52) This D-W story told of American Civil Liberties Union lawyers filing a "friend of the court" brief in Los Angeles urging acquittal of 14 being tried in California as leaders of the Communist movement there. D-W described them as "working class leaders" - a typical Communist cliche.

DAILY WORKER (8/18/52) Headline: "Maryland ACLU Hits Firing of 3 Instructors." This was ACLU action against enforcement of the Maryland Ober law to restrain Communists.

DAILY WORKER (11/6/52) "The American Civil Liberties Union has entered as a 'friend of the court' in defense of three New York doctors suspended or reprimanded by the New York Board of Regents following their conviction for contempt of Congress when they refused to produce books belonging to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee." The ACLU lawyers were O. K. Fraenkel and H. M. Levy. The JAFRC group has been cited by several Government agencies, including the Attorney General, as a Communist-front organization.

DAILY WORKER (11/12/52) "The Post Office Department was criticized sharply yesterday by the American Civil Liberties Union for its policy of deciding what subscribers to Soviet publications may receive them."

DAILY WORKER (12/10/52) "The American Civil Liberties Union in a letter to more than 200 motion picture distributors and exhibitors, has offered to aid in fighting official or private pressure groups which have forced withdrawal of pictures in which blacklisted artists had a hand." The "blacklisted artists" were those who refused to answer questions about Communist affiliations.

PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY (12/13/52) "Accusing Post Office officials of acting as 'judges of academic standards' the American Civil Liberties Union recently criticized the Department for withholding Soviet publications from the mails."

NEW LEADER (12/22/52) A letter in this Social-Democratic Federation magazine said: "The facts about Communist infiltration of the American Civil Liberties Union cannot be refuted by the slippery evasions of the letter of the ACLU officials . . . They say ACLU has a long established policy of complete disclosure of any information about the Union requested by a governmental body. It is high time that some governmental bodies request such information because ACLU has done a fine job of concealing it from non-governmental bodies." The letter referred at some length to ACLU's record.

DAILY WORKER (2/17/53) "The American Civil Liberties Union announced today that it would join in the appeal of the conviction of Claude Lightfoot, stating that the trial of the Illinois Communist leader revealed no 'overt act inimical to the Government'." ACLU, by its own words, of course, does not accept the facts of life that the Communist Party is an enemy to be dealt with as a part of the world-wide Communist conspiracy to destroy all other forms of Government.

PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY (4/11/53) "In two separate actions, a branch and an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union have protested the passage of proposed 'obscenity' laws in New York and Minnesota . . ."

WORKER (4/26/53) "The American Civil Liberties Union - which represents thousands of professional and business people in many cities - has joined the broad movement for reversal of the 20-year prison term of Steve Nelson. Nelson was the militant Pittsburgh Communist leader convicted under a State sedition law. The "broad movement" referred to including Communists and "civil rights" groups carried the case to the new liberal Supreme Court and got a decision freeing Nelson and "outlawing" State sedition laws where Federal law supersedes. This ruling leaves the States helpless in dealing with subversion.

DAILY WORKER (4/21/53) (This story referred also to the Nelson case.) "State laws against so-called 'subversion' had had an 'adverse effect on civil liberties' the American Civil Liberties Union reported yesterday, after a nation-wide roundup from its affiliates. . . The ACLU study cited the indictment and 20-year jail term for Steve Nelson in Pennsylvania under a sedition law." The truth is, of course, that the only people "hurt" were the Communists and this aroused ACLU. The great majority of people were happy about it all.

DAILY WORKER (6/29/53) Headline: "ACLU Annual Report Cites Some Gains in Civil Liberties." D-W quoted the Report at length - including this: "The ACLU continues to believe that the Smith Act is unconstitutional" and then listed several instances where ACLU had intervened in Communist prosecutions. The Smith Act which the Communists (and ACLU) dislike so much was one of the most effective laws this country has had to deal with Communists. The new "liberal" Supreme Court has just about destroyed it.

DAILY WORKER (6/29/53) carried a story describing ACLU's protest to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the banning of books in the U. S. overseas Information Libraries. Investigators had found these "Libraries" well stocked with books by Communists and pro-Communists. Congress, under whose authority these "Libraries" were established, was trying to clean them up.

DAILY WORKER (7/2/53) described an ACLU protest to the Pennsylvania state legislature against four pending bills intended to curb Communist activity.

DAILY WORKER (7/2/53) "A campaign to defeat the various thought control and witchhunt bills introduced into this session of the state legislature has been launched by the Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union." This Communist paper which so regularly shows ACLU running interference for its causes goes on in this case to show again how ACLU is giving it aid and comfort.

DAILY WORKER (8/20/53) (California item) "An intensive three-month campaign to win public support for revision of the McCarran-Walter immigration act was opened here by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California." The story explained that ACLU had sent a letter to 1,500 church, nationality, labor and civic groups asking them to join in changing (breaking down) the present immigration quotas and regulations. The purpose would seem quite clear in the face of the general record.

DAILY WORKER (8/31/53) "Although a public hearing had been held on the bill (HB-308) in May (in which representatives of the CIO, ACLU, CRC and PP voiced their strong protests) it was not until the closing hours of the Assembly session . . . that it was rushed through." This excerpt from a long story concerns the passing of an anti-subversive law. It is important to note with whom ACLU was associated in its protest. CRC was the Communist-front "Civil Rights Congress" - PP was the Left-wing Progressive Party. The old adage about "birds of a feather . . ." comes to mind.

DAILY WORKER (10/6/53) "The New York Civil Liberties Union last Saturday appointed a committee of legal experts to investigate the firing of Dr. Barrows Dunham by Temple University . . . Dunham . . . was originally suspended last March after refusing to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities." The questions he refused to answer were about his alleged Communist associations.

DAILY WORKER (9/3/53) "The American Civil Liberties Union today called on Attorney General Herbert Brownell to revise certain procedures in the hearings granted organizations on his 'subversive' list . . . The ACLU letter was based on the Attorney General's speech to the American Bar Association when he announced that the National Lawyers Guild was being placed on the 'subversive' list and a hearing held."

NEW YORK TIMES (10/11/53) A Times' story in discussing the Foreign Agents Registration Act which bars "political propaganda from abroad" except to registered foreign agents reported that the American Civil Liberties Union "believes such material should be admitted to all persons in the interest of free speech".

DAILY WORKER (11/24/53) "Cancellation of a telecast by George Blake Charney, New York Communist leader . . . constitutes an act of censorship" by WABD-TV and was not in the public interest, the American Civil Liberties Union told the television station yesterday." It would be difficult to imagine more muddled reasoning.

DAILY WORKER (12/2/53) "Thirteen witnesses subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities filed suit in federal court to quash the subpoenas . . . the 13 were represented by the American Civil Liberties Union." The House committee (HUAC) was attempting to uncover the workings of the Communist conspiracy - ACLU was helping to prevent it.

BRÖOKLYN TABLET (12/19/53) "The American Civil Liberties Union, in spite of its professions when it was founded in 1920, has always inclined toward the Left . . . It has rushed to the front in defending individuals with Communist records, but it has been reluctant and even silent when the civil rights of Anti-Communists have been threatened. Now comes the (ACLU) report in which Congressional investigations are under fire . . ."

CONTINUING THE DOCUMENTATION

DAILY WORKER (1/5/54) "The Legion succeeded in getting the ACLU barred from meeting in the War Memorial Building in Indianapolis on grounds that it was a 'front for Communists'."

N. Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN (3/17/54) "After a lengthy internal struggle that threatened to split the organization the American Civil Liberties Union's board of directors has finally adopted the strongest anti-Communist stand in its 35-year history." This was one of those meaningless maneuvers by Socialist leader Norman Thomas. The policy of aiding and abetting the Communist cause seems to go merrily along just the same. Note subsequent data.

DAILY WORKER (3/24/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday urged the Senate Committee on Government Operations not to cite author Corliss Lamont for contempt. . ." Lamont, who had refused to answer questions concerning some of his pro-Communist activities, is now Vice Chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee that heads the drive (in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union) to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

DAILY WORKER (4/13/54) "The Ninth Circuit Court has 'received' the American Civil Liberties Union brief in the California Smith Act case . . . prepared by Attorney A. L. Wirin." This referred to the "accused Reds" in California and was just another monotonous instance of ACLU going to the aid of Communists.

DAILY WORKER (4/19/54) This issue carried a follow-up on the above stating that the American Civil Liberties Union had filed a 'friend of the court' brief in the California U. S. Court of Appeals (by ACLU attorneys Morris Cohen and A. L. Wirin) on behalf of the several California Communists who had been tried and convicted under the Smith act.

DAILY WORKER (5/25/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday urged the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to eliminate from the general housing bill an amendment requiring loyalty oaths for occupants of all federal-assisted housing." One of the reasons for this proposed oath was that Federal housing projects had, in some cases, become a sort of sanctuary for Communists.

DAILY WORKER (7/6/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union last week charged that contempt sentences imposed on Mrs. Oleta Yates after the Smith Act trials here (Los Angeles) violated 'fundamental principles of liberty and justice'." Mrs. Yates was secretary of the California State Communist Party.

DAILY WORKER (7/12/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union has criticized an Administration proposal for eliminating suspected security risks from employment in 'defense plants' as far too sweeping . . . The ACLU statement also took issue with another bill in the Administration's 'anti-subversive' legislative package authorizing the dissolution of 'Communist infiltrated' unions from 'defense' and related industries . . ." The Red paper went on at length to milk ACLU's action for all it was worth.

DAILY WORKER (7/19/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday called on the Federal Communications Commission not to adopt a proposed rule requiring loyalty oaths from amateur and commercial radio operators." Was this ACLU action because Congressional investigations have shown that our ships and other strategic operations are at the mercy of radio operators who must belong to a Communist-dominated union?

DAILY WORKER (7/21/54) "The requirement that occupants of low-rent federally-aided housing projects must first sign loyalty oaths was scored by the American Civil Liberties Union in a brief filed with the New York State Court." In some cases in the big cities Communists have been the first to get the advantage of low-cost housing.

DAILY WORKER (7/29/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union declared this week that the General Electric Company's 'security' screening program violates the freedom of speech and association of its employees and job applicants." It just happened that the notorious Communist dominated "UE" union was involved.

DAILY WORKER (8/4/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union has issued a... report sharply criticizing the Philadelphia Board of Education for its dismissal of 26 school teachers on charges of 'so-called incompetency'." The facts are that the teachers involved had refused to answer questions about Communist connections when interrogated by the Superintendent of Education and the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the basis of evidence that justified such questioning. More evidence that ACLU ignores the RIGHTS of the students and parents.

DAILY WORKER (8/5/54) "The New York Civil Liberties Union yesterday called on Police Commissioner F. W. H. Adams to halt the current dragnet arrests in the Times Square area." In this case the police were attempting to meet the threat of "youth gangs" who have become a menace in many cities.

DAILY WORKER (8/25/54) "Four former employes of the Pacific Gas and Electric Co., who were fired for refusing to answer questions of the State fact-finding committee have sued the Committee for \$218,333 damages. They are represented by the Northern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union."

WORKER (9/12/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union announced that it was prepared to challenge the constitutionality of the pro-fascist Communist Control Act of 1954 and was appealing the 'loyalty' firing of a San Diego professor. The professor was Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz (cited in California as sponsor of Communistic activities).

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS (10/11/54) Headline: "Group Explains Why ACLU Entered Case of Lawyer Denied a License." Under this heading there was an alibi explanation in the form of a letter from ACLU people as to why ACLU had gone to bat for a man who had been denied a license to practice law by the Illinois Supreme Court because he had refused to tell the Bar Association's Committee on Character and Fitness whether or not he belonged to the Communist Party.

DAILY WORKER (10/18/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday asked the U. S. Supreme Court to invalidate provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act for the registration of 'Communist action' organizations." May one ask - WHY?

WORKER (10/24/54) "The constitutionality of Kentucky's 34-year old sedition law was challenged here by attorneys for six men and women indicted under the law and an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer who appeared as a 'friend of the court'." This case arose out of the widely publicized bombing in Louisville in 1954. The Communist issue was central in the case.

St. PAUL WANDERER (11/4/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union charged last week that the United States was putting pressures on employes of international agencies that could destroy their integrity." The issue here that aroused ACLU's pious ire came from a demand from U. S. to U. N. delegate Lodge that 8 U. S. employes of U. N.'s UNESCO be fired because of adverse loyalty reports on them. Reach your own conclusion.

DAILY WORKER (11/15/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday assailed the Communist Control Act and other such laws passed by the 83rd Congress..."

DAILY WORKER (11/21/54) "The 83rd Congress with its so-called anti-Communist laws was charged with making deep 'inroads into civil liberties' in a report by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU cited as the worst example the Humphrey-Butler Act outlawing the Communist Party and harassing trade unions." This referred to the law amending the Subversive Activities Control Act to enable the Government to go to the aid of labor union members when the control of the Union had been clearly seized by a small Communist clique.

DAILY WORKER (11/22/54) "The American Civil Liberties Union has scored some success in its fight against a new federal requirement that college and university students enrolled in the Reserve Officers Training Corps take loyalty oaths."

DAILY WORKER (12/7/54) "An assistant professor history addressing a session of the Colorado branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, led off a salvo of attacks on the Smith Act, under which seven regional Communist Party leaders are charged with conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government." Nothing more need be said about that.

DAILY WORKER (1/27/55) "A spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union told the Daily Worker: 'The ACLU has been opposed to the Smith Act since 1940 because of the danger it presents to freedom of speech... Clark Foreman speaking for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee said: 'We think this conviction (of Communist leader Claude Lightfoot) and the conviction of anyone for membership is completely unconstitutional.' The two organizations mentioned (ACLU and ECLC) are now partners in a drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities which the Communists dread and hate.

DAILY WORKER (1/31/55) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday opposed the requirement that teachers 'inform' on other teachers in legislative investigations concerning alleged Communist associations or activities." This had to do with certain cases where efforts were being made to learn the members of known Communist cells in the teacher field.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS (2/6/55) "The American Civil Liberties Union has announced it will ask Court permission to join in the appeal of the Claude Lightfoot conviction." Lightfoot was the executive secretary of the Illinois Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.

DAILY WORKER (3/31/55) "The New York Civil Liberties Union said today that a state bill which would give employers the right to fire an employee who invokes the Fifth Amendment in any hearing involving Communist activities is 'an outrageous invasion of a citizen's constitutional rights'." It is interesting to note how ACLU's interpretation of "civil rights" - "constitutional rights" - "free speech" and "freedom of the press" provides an excuse for defense of Communists at every turn.

DAILY WORKER (4/18/55) "The American Civil Liberties Union has urged the United Press to rehire television-news writer Theodore Polumbaum, fired by UP after he refused to testify about alleged Communist affiliations before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953." ACLU's meddling appears boundless.

DAILY WORKER (5/30/55) "A suit to force the State Department to make its passport and visa policies square with due process will be filed within two weeks by the American Civil Liberties Union." This was to force issuance of passports by the State Department to four persons who had previously been refused because of the Communist issue.

NEW YORK TIMES (6/12/55) "The American Civil Liberties Union asked Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, yesterday to withdraw a pamphlet 'How to Spot a Communist'. The pamphlet was prepared by the First Army and used by the Watertown, Mass. Arsenal of the Ordnance Corps and the Continental Air Command." ACLU attacked the booklet as a "serious threat to free thought and expression". What conclusion can be reached from this when it is so well known that a major objective of the Communists has been to infiltrate our armed forces?

DAILY WORKER (6/24/55) "Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union have asked the Federal District Court for a declaratory judgment that would require the State Department to grant passports to two American citizens." This was on behalf of individuals who, for reasons deemed important concerning Communist involvement, had been denied passports to travel abroad by the Passport Division.

FORTNIGHT (July, 1955) Columnist Lawrence Fertig explained that he "asked the American Civil Liberties Union why it did not defend the most basic of all civil liberties - the right of a man to earn his living without paying tribute to any other individual or private organization". ACLU replied, "There are no civil liberties grounds on which such statutes (right of work laws in various States) should be supported". Strange logic.

WORKER (7/10/55) "Author Finds No Evidence of 'Communist Spy' Charges" was the heading over a full two column letter from William A. Reuben. The Communist editor's preface said: "The following is a communication from William A. Reuben, former publicity director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and author of the sensational and revealing book, The Atom Spy Hoax". It is interesting to note how the Communist paper capitalized the name of ACLU in its attempt to repudiate Communist spy scandals.

DAILY WORKER (9/7/55) "The American Civil Liberties Union will file suit to test the constitutionality of the Broyles 'loyalty' oath... The challenge of the Broyles 'oath' was hailed by Leon Katzen, acting secretary of the Civil Rights Congress." The Broyles law in

Illinois was an attempt to curb Communists. The Civil Rights Congress mentioned above as hailing the ACLU action was a legal arm of the Communist Party. It later folded under action by the Subversive Activities Control Board before the "new liberal" Supreme Court curbed the Board in favor of the Communists.

N. Y. TEACHER NEWS (9/17/55) - organ of the Left-wing N. Y. Teachers Union: "The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has attacked the perjury conviction of Hugh Bryson, west coast union leader, under the 'non-Communist' affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley Act." Bryson was a Vice Chairman of the Communist-front Civil Rights Congress.

WORKER (10/16/55) "The American Civil Liberties Union came to the defense of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the Government's effort to deprive the trade union of its rights under national labor legislation." In this case the Government had charged this union with being "Communist infiltrated" as defined under the Butler Act. This law was passed to protect workers from Communist domination in any union.

DAILY WORKER (1/11/56) A meeting held at "Yale Law School and attended by 200 persons" heard P. M. Malin of the American Civil Liberties Union reaffirm "his organization's opposition to the Smith Act".

DAILY WORKER (4/24/56) "Repeal of the Smith Act has been urged by the American Civil Liberties Union . . . the civil liberties group charged that the Smith Act 'opens the door to prosecution of people for their political beliefs and activities'." But (and ACLU ignored this) only when those activities are subversive.

DAILY WORKER (7/11/56) "The American Civil Liberties Union today attacked a Defense Department regulation allowing security checks of non-sensitive employees of universities and industrial plants having defense contracts." What was not stated, of course, was that many "non-sensitive" employees soon are advanced in one way or another into "sensitive" jobs.

DAILY WORKER (7/27/56) "The Federal government's policy of acquiring agricultural lands on the island of Okinawa for military purposes was criticized yesterday by the American Civil Liberties Union . . ." A strange attitude, indeed, toward America's defense system.

DAILY WORKER (7/31/56) "A government agreement with Saudi Arabia under which American citizens of Jewish faith are not being assigned to military service or employed in defense installations in that country was criticized by the American Civil Liberties Union." The work was in an Arab country - so on its face this was a phony charge.

DAILY WORKER (8/2/56) Headline: "Liberties Group Combat Loyalty Tests in California." This story announced that both California branches of the American Civil Liberties Union were fighting the California loyalty-oath law which provided that management of institutions receiving State benefits (such as tax exemption) must sign a loyalty oath. This law was passed after certain ministers had become extremely active in Communist-front organizations and in some cases were allowing tax-free buildings to be used for meetings of such groups.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN (9/17/56) This publication which follows closely the "party line" said: "Attorney A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union argued in Federal Court in San Francisco last week for dismissal of the sedition indictment against John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia and John Schuman." The Powells ran a paper in China during the Korean War and were accused of giving aid and comfort to the enemy by supporting the "germ warfare" claim and other offenses. Wirin secured through Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman of San Francisco the right of a passport to go to China to seek defense material for the Powells - with his traveling expenses (to and from China) paid by our Government, plus \$12 per day for subsistence. This made our Government pay for collecting evidence to defend those it was prosecuting.

DAILY WORKER (10/5/56) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday urged the U. S. Supreme Court to rule the membership section of the Smith Act unconstitutional on the ground it violates freedom of speech and association." In this instance ACLU was acting on behalf of two well known Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act - Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales.

DAILY WORKER (10/8/56) "Civil liberties for college students are urged by the American Civil Liberties Union in a 12-page pamphlet prepared by the ACLU Academic Freedom Committee . . . (which) urges freedom to join organizations without being required to file a list of

members. It also warns against rigid control of college publications." The purpose of this would seem to be quite obvious.

DAILY WORKER (10/26/56) "American Civil Liberties Union attorneys will appear this morning before the Veterans Administration in Washington to urge reinstatement of the cancelled disability pension of Saul Wellman, Michigan Communist leader . . ." Again, there is the question of why the Communists, with all their lawyers and money, are not able to defend their own.

DAILY WORKER (12/24/56) "The American Civil Liberties Union today called on the Army to speed up the time required to decide military personnel security cases." This excerpt is taken from a story headlined: "Army Persecution of Liberals Hit by ACLU" which, when the D-W meaning of "liberals" is understood, very well explains why ACLU was trying to tell the Army how to handle its security problems.

DAILY WORKER (12/28/56) "A 'friend of the court' brief by the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union in support of 23 Hollywood writers, actors, producers and directors who charge 'political blacklist' against leading Hollywood movie makers has been filed with the U.S. Supreme Court, the ACLU reveals . . . the victims . . . charge they have been denied employment for their refusal to answer questions on politics put to them by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. No explanation needed.

DAILY WORKER (2/22/57) "The New York State 'Security Risk' law came under heavy attack yesterday by the Civil Liberties Union, which demanded that the law be allowed to lapse when it expires." The law to which ACLU objected provided for dismissal of state or city workers in 'sensitive jobs' where evidence indicated they would be a security risk.

DAILY WORKER (3/22/57) Headline: "ACLU MEETING OFF; Seek New Hall." The story explained that the New York Civil Liberties Union (ACLU affiliate) "will not hold its scheduled 'free speech' meeting tonight featuring John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, because the Hotel Martinique (in New York) had cancelled the plan to hold it there." The paper explained that the "Civil Liberties group planned its meeting 'to maintain the principle of free speech' after Gates had been barred from speaking on any New York city college campus." Can any one say this is not "going to the aid" of the Communists? A footnote to this is that John Gates (Irving Regenstreif) has since been dropped by the Communist Party in a factional struggle for control.

DAILY WORKER (3/22/57) An Editorial: "Sudden cancellation by the Hotel Martinique of the New York Civil Liberties Union meeting for Daily Worker John Gates may come as a shock to some people . . . Obviously this cannot go unchallenged . . . it remains an axiom of our time that to defend the rights of Communists is to defend the rights of all Americans." This is the "axiom" of the Communists and obviously the ACLU - but if it were true then why are we, as a nation, spending some FIFTY BILLIONS a year to defend against just one threat - the Communists?

DAILY WORKER (4/24/57) "The American Civil Liberties Union's local affiliate, New York Civil Liberties Union, voiced objection yesterday to federal and New York laws aimed at curbing alleged obscene publications."

DAILY WORKER (5/17/57) Headline: "American Civil Liberties Union says: Censorship Activity by Private Organizations Growing." The article under this heading quoted from an ACLU statement as follows: "Concerned with the morality of literature . . . a number of private groups, particularly church-related organizations have prepared blacklists . . . the most active of these groups is the National Organization for Decent Literature . . ." At the end of the long protest against those who are working to keep literature clean were scores of names presumably connected with ACLU.

St. PAUL WANDERER (9/5/57) "A comparative handful of lawyers compose the policy-making body of the American Civil Liberties Union. These men, by their record, have shown a remarkable consistency in opposing admission of the existence of God in human society. Somehow, despite the fact that this little group of policy-makers would be a minority among lawyers in a third class city, the ACLU seems to be able to obtain publicity, particularly in the New York Times, that would not be obtainable by organizations of stature and merited prestige. A short time ago the Times gave over half a column to an announcement that ACLU opposed the inclusion of questions about religion in the Federal census."

DAILY WORKER (9/8/43) In relation to the above concerning publicity - there was an item back in this issue of the D-W in the column of one Bernard Rubin who was on the Communist paper at that time in which he disclosed that the American Civil Liberties Union had engaged the public relations firm of Russell Birdwell to boost its wares with the public.

DAILY WORKER (9/20/57) "The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday asked U.S. colleges and universities to re-examine their policies on Communist teaching in educational institutions . . . Instructors have the right to be irritating, foolish, socially unpalatable or politically extreme", said the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee." Nothing was said about the "rights" of the parents or the students - or society as a whole.

DAILY WORKER (10/29/57) ". . . the New York Civil Liberties Union yesterday declared that 'we disagree' with the action of Dr. Gallagher, president of City College, banning Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from speaking at a student campus forum. Miss Flynn, member of the Communist Party national committee and People's Party city council candidate had been invited to address the Marxist Discussion Club on issues in the campaign."

DAILY WORKER (1/6/58) Headline: "ACLU Report Marks Gains in 1957 Fights." Under this heading the Communist paper discussed the 100-page report issued by the American Civil Liberties Union showing what it regarded as "civil liberties" gains and special emphasis was placed on the June 17, 1957 Supreme Court giving a new breath of life and opportunity to the California Reds convicted under the Smith Act - but reprieved by the Supreme Court. ACLU and the Communists have been joyful about the Supreme Court's recent conversion to the new "liberalism". The ACLU report was quoted also as saying the "House Committee on Un-American Activities ought never to have come into existence, and ought to be abolished . . ."

DAILY WORKER (2/8/58) "ACLU is disturbed by continuing reports of police and sheriffs acting over-zealously and extra-legally, and by a heavy handed surveillance by Immigration and other agencies . . ." This was included in an article reporting a new Civil Liberties Union "Chapter" in East Los Angeles due to a special need because of the Mexican-American problem in that area. Organizations like ACLU must keep hunting for new "problems" in order to stimulate income and its special kind of following.

The American Civil Liberties Union, according to a Congressional report (1938) "issued annual reports in which listed loans amounting to thousands of dollars to the International Labor Defense. These reports point to numbers of court cases in which they have defended Communists. The ACLU furnished nearly \$40,000 bail for Gastonia Communists, most of whom skipped their bail and escaped to Russia. It also supplied large sums of money in connection with the Bridgeman, Michigan, cases."

To explain this for those who may be late comers, the International Labor Defense (ILD) was the first legal arm of the Communist Party established in this country - as a branch of International Red Aid in Moscow. The "Gastonia Communists" refers to the Reds who led the bloody 1929 Gastonia, North Carolina textile strike. The "Bridgeman, Michigan cases" refer to a secret Communist convention held at the little lake resort town of Bridgeman in 1922 upon which swooped Government agents to grab great quantities of conspiratorial material. Indictments and trials followed with some highly respected "liberals" coming to the aid of the Communists.



THE FOREGOING items, although only a partial list, show how useful the American Civil Liberties Union is to the Communists. There appears to be no record that ACLU has ever objected or protested the continual use of ACLU's "prestige" by the Communists. There is no organization that claims to be non-Communist which, by the record, has given so much aid and comfort to the Communists. ACLU's particular brand of "freedom of speech" constitutes an ideal screen and shield for Communist tactics and strategy. That the Civil Liberties Union's demand for absolute freedom of speech for the Communists is a dangerous absurdity is exposed by the realization that no one has the right to yell "fire" in a crowded theater. No "freedom of speech" can be condoned that is intended to induce or does by provocation produce disaster. All individual freedoms must, in civilized society, be limited and governed by the rights of others and the welfare of the nation.

WHEN A COMMUNIST gets into trouble for his conspiratorial activities he is martyred and defended by the Civil Liberties crowd but when a patriotic anti-Communist is

harassed or persecuted "silence is golden" with the Civil Liberties professionals. The one-sided slant of ACLU's championship of "rights" was well exposed in an article titled "Whose Civil Liberties?" by Ralph de Toledano in the American Legion Magazine for May, 1954.

It seems strange to find the American Civil Liberties Union, with a large number of its followers being militant pacifists, standing for the right of advocacy of overthrow of Government by force and violence. It is also interesting to note that these horny-handed intellectuals pose as the alter egos of "labor". The labor union may not be the only kind of private organization in this country that would like to use force to impress its opinions and demands but certainly it is the only one that boldly asserts its right and intentions to use force - and does so with immunity and with the approval of the self-appointed "civil-righters".

Another serious consequence flowing from the activities and propaganda of Communist-serving "civil liberties" groups is the gradual dissipating effect on national patriotism. This result was well stated in a speech by Congresswoman Katherine St. George before the Daughters of the American Revolution last year. She said: "At every turn we are made to feel that it is a little bit provincial to be a patriot; perhaps a little juvenile to wave the flag; and certainly not intellectual at all. Instead of teaching patriotism in our schools it is played down. Our children are taught to be so tolerant that we have no convictions whatsoever." The activities of the American Civil Liberties Union group serves to destroy the convictions we should have about Communists - and must have if we are to survive.

THE ATTACK ON THE F.B.I. IS ALSO GROWING

THE CRUSADE to discredit and abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities led by the so-called Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union is the shock-troop vanguard of a much wider and broader movement gradually emerging that has the appearance of something intended to discredit and dissipate our entire bulwark of security defenses.

The forces, for instance, that seek to undermine confidence in our Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) are growing bolder - especially since the recent Communist-serving Supreme Court decisions. The latest effort to belittle the FBI is in the form of a special edition (10/18/58) of the Left-leaning weekly - The Nation. The editor of this magazine, Carey McWilliams, has more than 50 listings in the House Committee (HUAC) Index. This is one of the so-called "liberal" publications that, according to the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee, are so infiltrated with the Communist Party policy that they serve the interests of the Communists and confuse liberals on many issues, much more than do the Communist publications.

It is because of this potential influence that an attack on the FBI sponsored by a self-annointed "liberal" magazine, and doubtless accepted as such, carries a real danger of persuasion and acceptance in a field where "liberal" indoctrination is spreading with ominous distortion among ministers, teachers and other intellectuals of importance.

McWilliams appeared on a Forum program at Stephen Fritchman's First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, January 16, 1959 to discuss "Freedom of the Press" and took the opportunity to pay his respects to the FBI by referring to the special FBI edition of his Left-weekly. Fritchman announced to his heterogeneous audience that his church had already sold several hundred copies of this FBI-slamming edition and had 200 copies on hand for that evening's audience. This church is singular also in that Communist paper hawkers are often just outside, as was the case at this particular meeting.

The smoothly malevolent 60-page special edition "report" on the FBI published by The Nation takes as its text a statement criticizing the FBI made by one Cyrus Eaton of Cleveland, Ohio on a Fund for the Republic sponsored broadcast, May 4, 1958. Cyrus Eaton came to this country in 1900, was naturalized in 1913, and has made an immense fortune in various industries - largely through financial manipulations. This capitalistic status coupled with his widely publicized crack at the FBI and his declaration for the recognition of Red China presented him as a providential and ideal decoy in this Left-wing effort to attract and lure a bigger and better covey of converts in the assault on our greatest agency of defense against internal Communism.

The first open attack on the FBI and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover of any particular consequence came in the form of a book in 1950 titled "The Federal Bureau of Investigation" by one Max Lowenthal. The nature and source of this assault aroused great indignation throughout the country. Lowenthal, a wealthy New York lawyer, had long been a close friend of many people in different categories. When he was called to testify before the House Committee he admitted knowing Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, John Abt and Charles Kramer - all named by Whittaker Chambers in connection with a Washington communist cell. He also knew many men high in Government where he had held posts and been influentially active.

Senator Barry Goldwater, speaking to this subject on the Senate floor, March 29, 1954, said: "The FBI has been the chief target of Communists, their stooges and apologists for years. A new effort is now being made. The Worker, Communist leaders and apologists have been seeking a way to impede and thwart the FBI in its job of protecting our internal security. One of the most notorious was the insidious . . . Max Lowenthal. Long a friend of persons in high office, he was able to accomplish deeds of staggering proportions which benefitted the Red masters of the Kremlin. Like Lowenthal, Barth shows himself to be a master of adroit misrepresentation."

The reference to "Barth" was to Alan Barth, propagandist and editorial chief of the left-liberal Washington Post who had written a supporting attack on FBI for Harpers magazine, March, 1954, titled "How Good Is An FBI Report?" In this Barth said: "It was a paradox of the mid-nineteen-forties that investigative reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation - despite the Bureau's immense popularity and prestige - were widely discounted if not disregarded by responsible officials of the executive branch of the government". This obvious reflection on the FBI was a "non sequitor" argument - but this flaccidity was indeed a reflection on the Roosevelt and Truman administrations which Barth was clearly defending. If they had paid more attention to the FBI reports they might have avoided the "mess" that became a national scandal. This same Alan Barth, writing in the Left-liberal "Progressive" magazine (February, 1952) under the title "The Age of Doubt" slapped hard at the Loyalty Review Board for disqualifying John Stewart Service for government employment turning the same words into a defense of Service who was involved in the Amerasia secret document case - and other matters of controversy.

Senator Goldwater's speech was an answer to both Lowenthal and Barth. He said the only purpose he could see for the Barth article was a defense for keeping "Harry Dexter White, Harold Glasser, Duncan Lee, Sol Adler, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Alger Hiss, Frank Coe, Laughlin Currie and others of similar ilk in the government".

It was Alan Barth who made the "kick-off" speeches in California in November (1958) for the petition drive by ACLU to get signatures asking abolishment of the House Committee Committee on Un-American Activities.

This is the same Alan Barth who in 1951 wrote a book, "The Loyalty of Free Men," which became a sort of Manifesto for professional liberals and anti-anti-Communists. The jacket described it as "A challenging examination of Cold War Treason . . . The Loyalty Program . . . The Real Communist Threat . . . FBI Investigations . . . Teachers' Oaths . . . The Hiss and Coplon Trials . . . and How They Affect Your Life, Your Liberty and Your Job". Concerning American Communists, the book (p. 38) said: "It is a fundamental misapprehension to suppose that they are powerful because they are abhorrent". Concerning the Government Loyalty Program Barth (p. 134) said: "The inevitable effect is a corruption of the traditional American right of privacy and the development of a dangerous police power". The chapter on the FBI was a sort of damning with faint praise.



The program of disparagement for the FBI hasn't yet reached the stage where any outright organized effort has been started to abolish it - as there has in the case of the House Committee on Un-American Activities with which this report has dealt - or with the groups that have been trying to stop our Atom Bomb tests so the Soviets can outstrip us in that field and have us at their mercy. But the attempts to discredit the FBI are gradually building up and may be expected, under the present climate of "liberalism" as interpreted by the newly converted Supreme Court, to develop a sufficient following of "pseudo-liberals" to give the needed momentum for a try at abolishment.

WHAT IS LIBERALISM?

The culture of America is deeply rooted in the spirit of LIBERALISM. Our nation was founded out of a revolt against the tyrannies and oppressions of other lands. True liberalism (to the degree it can be true) flows from a Government that gets its authority from the people and as Jefferson urged — “governs least” — or otherwise interferes as little as possible with the expression of the individual initiative of its citizens.

But as Socialism and then Communism began to overflow from other nations into this country there developed a false “liberalism” adroitly to be used as a screen for promoting political and social subversion aimed at changing our whole way of life. This “liberalism” is based upon the socialistic-communistic philosophy that — “What serves my purpose is right — all else is wrong.”

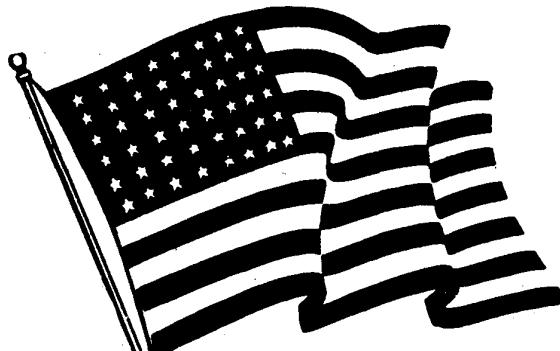
Out of this philosophy and purpose has come a socialistic “pattern of action” by what may properly be called the Cult of the “Liberals”. The central theory, promoted by the Socialists and Communists and accepted by the “new Liberals” is that Big Government (the idealistic welfare government) is good and the competitive system of private enterprise is bad. The new philosophy teaches that men in private business must, out of avarice, necessarily be dishonest — but this philosophy conveniently ignores that the same nature of man must and will operate in government bureaucracy. And the danger of abuse there is much greater because it is concentrated in power over the people. Out of this the clever Socialist and Communist plotters have created a following by first stimulating and inciting suspicion and hatred toward private enterprise capitalism. Whether they will acknowledge this or not (and many of them will not) most of the breast-beating “liberals” today are “revolutionists” because of this new religionistic ideology they have naively accepted. Many of them actually believe they are working for the betterment of mankind — for a “working man’s world” — for a “welfare State” that will be Utopia for all.

Some good advice for those “believers” comes from Prof. Frederick A. Hayek, who is certainly an authority on socialism, when he tells us that — “The Slave state starts with the ‘Welfare State’. It promises freedom from worry — want — as many freedoms as you wish — except freedom from the State itself”.

One reason, perhaps, why some of our Left-liberals do not like Mr. J. Edgar Hoover (and the FBI) is that he has the courage to be forthright about them and their purposes. He has said: “The ‘pseudo-liberal’ has increasingly conceived Committees in the name of defending every freedom — but none to uphold authority. When he has succeeded in lessening freedom by curtailing authority, he has claimed social progress. These self-styled social reformers seek to substitute license for freedom. They have become the ready tools of the Communist conspiracy, and their refusal to recognize the difference between authority for the common-good — and oppression — has aided in making possible an era of Communist expansion. To be sure,” Mr. Hoover continues, “the ‘pseudo-liberals’ proclaim themselves as anti-communist. They have made efforts in recent years to curtail the Government’s authority to defend our national security. Some of them may be honest and sincere but they are misguided. Others seek the ‘pseudo-liberal’ cloak to conceal more sinister objectives, because deceit is the very essence of Communism.”

For those “liberals” who have accepted the Socialist philosophy — but who think there is a middle heaven where they can stop without going on into a Communist dictatorship there are the words of the great theoretician of the British Socialists, Professor G. D. H. Cole who has said — “Socialism is an unworkable system without a new social drive such as the Communists have managed to give it.”

The late Professor Harold Laski, who was top-bracket British Socialist leader, Marxist and close friend of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, once stated that “Liberalism must inevitably lead to Socialism”. We have the word of Professor G. D. H. Cole who has helped advance Socialism in Great Britain that it can only be made to work when it is given the “DRIVE” that the Communists have given it. In other words Socialism will not work without the driving power and discipline of iron dictatorship. Since the New Deal started us on the road we have developed a vast Cult of Liberalism and advanced far along the road to welfare-state Socialism. A trend like this is hard to stop. The big question is — can we save ourselves from the inevitable disaster that will come to our way of life unless we do change our direction. Wake up — America — wake up!



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George W. Robnett, Director

WHAT IS THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA?

A History of the Organization, Including
Its Founders, Scope of Activity, and
How Individuals May Participate
In Its Mission

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-7-96 BY SP3BT/ce

"Eternal Vigilance
The Price



Is Forever
Of Liberty"

MEN OF VISION

The organization of the Church League of America was born in the minds of three men: the Honorable Frank J. Loesch, Henry P. Crowell, and George Washington Robnett.

Frank J. Loesch was the great Chicago lawyer whose memory is still green as the man who, in 1929 when he was head of the Chicago Crime Commission, was a major factor in the prosecution of Al Capone which sent the gangster to prison. It was Mr. Loesch who labeled Capone "Public Enemy No. 1". Mr. Loesch was 76 years old at the time. That, and his work as a member of the Hoover Law Enforcement Committee, headed by George W. Wickersham, brought Mr. Loesch national recognition.

Mr. Loesch, Senior member of the Chicago firm of Loesch, Scofield, Loesch and Burke, was a constitutional lawyer.

He was also an ardent and active churchman and Elder of one of Chicago's most prominent churches, the Fourth Presbyterian Church.

Early in the 1930's Mr. Loesch saw the growing encroachment of government upon the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the individual and a consequent threat to the constitutional structure itself. Moreover, he saw that many ministers and church leaders throughout the country were accepting socialistic experimentations as a great reform movement and they began preaching it from their pulpits and writing it in church literature without apparent understanding of the road they were traveling toward complete socialization of the American way of life, including religious institutions.

When the Supreme court Packing Bill came up in 1937, with the very patent intent of discrediting the "nine old men" of the National Judiciary and of overriding their judgment by increasing the number of judges on the Supreme Court bench, Frank J. Loesch decided that he must do what he could to inform the church leaders of the country, whose influence upon mass thinking was probably greater than that of any other agency, of the dangers inherent in the Court Packing Bill.

This particular problem might well be said to be the occasion for a gathering of prominent Chicago

churchmen and civic leaders, resulting in the formation of the National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America.

Mr. Loesch spent fifteen years as leader of the Men's Bible Class of the Fourth Presbyterian Church. He was a member of the Chicago and American Bar Associations; was counsel for the American Medical Association; organized the \$80,000,000 Chicago Union Station Company in 1913 and was its general counsel; counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad System in Illinois; member of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago; special States Attorney to uncover election frauds; President of the Chicago Bar Association; President of the Union League Club of Chicago; President of the Literary Club of Chicago; one of the founders of and President of the Law Club of Chicago; Trustee and Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society and later First Vice President; special assistant Attorney General of Illinois for Cook County to clean up the crime situation; honorary member of Rotary and Kiwanis; and the recipient of the Chicago Merit Awards, presented by a distinguished jury composed of presidents of leading business, education and civic organizations.

Henry P. Crowell, internationally known cereal manufacturer, Chairman of the Board of Quaker Oats, and referred to in his biography as "The Aristocrat of the Breakfast Table", was also a noted Presbyterian layman, a thorough evangelical in his theological beliefs, and a heavy supporter of the work of the famed Moody Bible Institute, known as "The West Point of Christian Service." The largest edifice on the Moody Campus today is named after Mr. Crowell.

George W. Robnett was an advertising executive in Chicago for years, a research expert and analyst on subversive activities, and a member of the Methodist Church. Mr. Robnett had accumulated a library and "working files" on communists and fellow-travelers in the United States over a period of thirty years, during which time he studied the various social and economic movements and cataloged the names of individuals involved in these movements with the various doctrines they were advocating.

His library included reports of U.S. House of Representatives Investigating Committees on un-American activities as far back as the Hamilton Fish committee of 1930 — the first such Congressional report ever made on communism in this country; the Lusk legislative investigation in New York State; the Rapp Coudert investigation of communist teachers in New York; the Illinois and California reports; reports of the Dies and McCarran committees, and of other House and Senate investigations which are now unobtainable.

The First Organizing Meeting

The three gentlemen named above called a meeting on Wednesday, March 24, 1937, at which time Mr. Robnett stated as follows:

"A part of the program proposed for this organization, which it is suggested that we create, is to publish and distribute to ministers and lay people regular bulletins in which would be described certain political movements which might have direct or indirect effect upon the churches or their work, or the future of religious movement. Many ministers are too busy with their church work and programs to do much general reading, and it is believed that during a period such as this information of this kind would be helpful."

At this meeting were prominent lay people of Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, and Disciples of Christ churches.

Mr. Harley Ward, Baptist layman, Wilmette, Illinois, an advertising man, made a motion to establish the Church League of America — to concern itself with matters that may concern religious liberty, and that particular attention be given to a national radio program and the publishing of informative bulletins.

Mr. Wilbur Helm, prominent Methodist layman and Secretary of the Conference of Methodist Laymen, Chicago stock broker, moved that a national headquarters be established; that funds be raised to carry on the work; and that George W. Robnett be elected temporary chairman.

A few weeks later Frank J. Loesch was elected as General Chairman and Mr. Robnett as Executive Secretary.

National Headquarters

National headquarters were opened at 53 West Jackson Boulevard and the following individuals made directors:

C. W. Howe, Director of the Old Republic Life Insurance Company of Chicago,—Chairman of the Committee of Laymen;

Dr. John W. Brandt, leading physician of Pittsburgh, — Vice Chairman of the Laymen's Committee;

Dr. Almer Pennewell, prominent Methodist minister of Evanston, Illinois — Chairman of the Committee of Clergy;

Dr. R. L. Decker, Pastor of the Temple Baptist Church of Kansas City, Co-Chairman of the Committee of Clergy.

Within a few short months the Church League of America had more than six thousand members of the clergy from all church denominations throughout the United States and over 50,000 lay members of churches supporting the work of the League and receiving its monthly documented bulletin, NEWS & VIEWS.

Research and analytical work was done in the Chicago headquarters for all of the Church League supporters who desired background information on individuals speaking before their church groups and writing church literature. Outstanding speakers were provided by the League who appeared before large audiences over the nation. Many seminars lasting two and three days were conducted by the Church League. Among the speakers provided by the League were:

Dr. Kenneth W. Colegrove, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northwestern University, and well known authority on Far Eastern affairs;

Charles Lachman, retired businessman and Vice President of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania;

Rev. Johnstone Beech, Episcopal minister of Gainesville, Texas;

Col. Walter L. Furbershaw, former head of Army Intelligence for the Sixth Corps, U.S. Army;

Dr. Alfred P. Haake, managing director of the National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, former Mayor of Park Ridge, Illinois, author and well known economist;

E. Gordon Fox, past President of Chicago's Western Society of Engineers, and retired Vice President of the Koppers Company;

George W. Robnett—and others.

Recently the Church League added several writers to its distinguished list of NEWS & VIEWS authors, such as Dr. J. B. Matthews, former Research Director of the House Committee On Un-American Activities, and Herbert A. Philbrick, who spent nine years as an under-cover spy for the F.B.I. within the Communist Party.

In 1952 the Church League moved its headquarters to Evanston, Illinois, where it acquired considerably more space to house its voluminous library and additional working areas for office employees. Since November of 1956 it has been located in Wheaton, Illinois.

The Library

The library of the Church League of America has accumulated a vast number of books on religious, educational, political and social movements, and on communism, many of which are rare and out of print. It has an entire section for religion, including government hearings by State and Federal authorities; pamphlets, books, and sermons by ministers; youth publications, and Sunday School quarterlies. There is one whole section built around John Dewey, the educator, whose philosophy of pragmatism ("what works is good and the end justifies the means") softened many intellectuals in America for the acceptance of communism.

The Church League headquarters contain thousands of files of individuals and organizations who have been engaged in subversive or "fellow-traveler" activities. These files contain original documents and propaganda published by such organizations as The American League of Peace and Democracy (the first communist-front organization in the United States); the League for Industrial Democracy; the Institute of Pacific Relations; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the People's Institute of Applied Religion; the Workers' Defense League; Americans For Democratic Action; and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Other files contain outright communist data and propaganda such as:

material on the old I.W.W.; the American-Russian Institute; the John Reed Society; the Jefferson School of Social Science; the American Committee For the Protection of the Foreign Born; and hundreds of others.

In another section are stacks of communist publications running back to the date when the Communist Party was first founded in Chicago in 1919; the *New Masses*, *Daily Record*, *New Times*, the *Daily Worker*, the *Communist, Political Affairs*, and the *People's Daily World*.

The Church League files contain nearly 400,000 3x5 cross-referenced index cards on individuals, organizations and publications which serve the communist cause in the United States in at least one or more of the three categories:

- 1) Communist Party members;
- 2) Fellow-travelers, party sympathizers or front-joiners;
- 3) Dupes.

Thousands of ministers have written to the Church League headquarters saying that they have used source material received from Church League headquarters as material for sermons and for instruction in religious institutions.

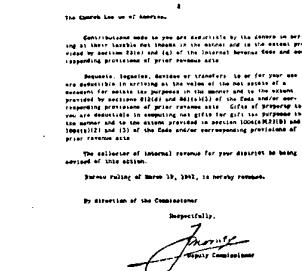
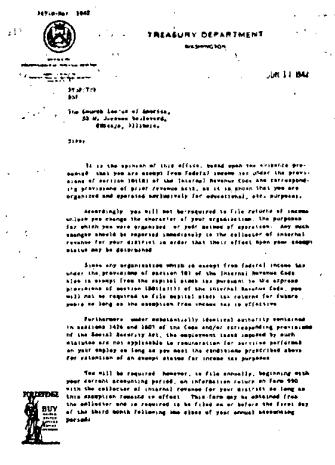
There are not more than twelve files in the entire United States comparable to the Church League files.

Great American daily newspapers, such as the Chicago Herald-American, devoted entire pages to the Church League of America. (See page 16, Part I, Editorial Page of Chicago Sunday Herald-American for February 8, 1942, giving two column wide editorial and three columns on the Church League of America).

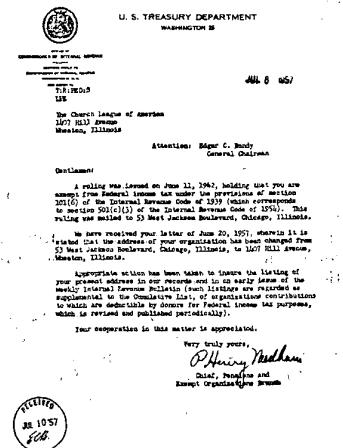
Tax Exemption

The Church League has been supported wholly by tax-deductible contributions from individuals, churches, foundations and business corporations through the years.

The Church League of America received tax-exemption status from the U. S. Treasury Department on June 11, 1942. Here is the copy of the letter received from the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue:



On July 8, 1957, the U. S. Treasury Department reiterated the tax-exempt status of the Church League in the following letter:



Policy and Procedure

An Outline of Policy and Procedure for the Church League of America was adopted by the League in its early beginnings and which sets forth its purpose as follows:

1. The purpose of the Church League of America is—
 - (a) To distribute literature to ministers to the extent of financial ability giving them a picture of the dangers to them in our trend toward national socialism;
 - (b) To act as a sounding board for publicity in press and magazine — in which way we have reached millions through news releases and newspaper stories;
 - (c) To try to influence these ministers and educate them to the point they will, through the vast numbers they in turn reach, extend this influence and education on and help to build a great national bulwark opposed to radical schemes and totalitarian trends;
 - (d) Gradually to coordinate the voices of the sound thinking ministers into a powerful voice that can mean something when great national questions and issues arise;
 - (e) Gradually to have an effect upon those left-wing ministers who are strongly Socialistic in idealism and action.
2. The Church League must therefore be considered largely in the nature of a public relations agency functioning for the purpose of stemming the tide that has been flowing toward National Socialism.
3. THE CHURCH LEAGUE is not a cure all and does not represent itself as such. We are prepared to do a job—a vastly important job—in a field where it is badly needed—where the potential reach is great—and where no

one else is working for the same purpose. For that reason we are entitled to support.

The Purpose of NEWS & VIEWS

- (a) A reporting service for those who support the Church League work — and also to serve itself as a source of income for that program. All the money that comes in for subscriptions to NEWS & VIEWS is turned into the Treasury of the Church League to help carry on the work as described above.
- (b) NEWS & VIEWS is unique and different from anything else published along this line and furnishes its readers with a good running picture of the radical movement — and how it functions.

NEWS & VIEWS enables our sponsors to get their money's worth in actual value for all they contribute to the Church League program and offers them an ideal chance to keep their own key employees informed as to the radical movement which they could not very well otherwise do. Such information is *insurance* because it makes those who read it more vigilant and more resistant to radical infiltration—and makes them much more intelligent in watching for its inroads. This information is naturally passed along in conversation and otherwise and has far reaching effect.

- (d) NEWS & VIEWS has the value also of keeping our sponsors cognizant of what we are doing for it would otherwise be difficult to keep in touch with them in between the times they contribute. In this way they hear from us frequently and know we are alive and on the job.

(e) NEWS & VIEWS has the further effect of letting everybody know that *we know* our subject. It has built a reputation for a genuineness of understanding of the radical movement. In other words, our people know that we are not talking through our hats — but that we have ourselves anchored deep in fact and grasp of the whole subject.

A Statement of Premise and Program

The Church League of America is a voluntary organization of citizens constituted of both Clergy and Laymen who are affiliated with the Christian church movement in America and who are in general agreement with the principles as set forth below:

1. We must rekindle the spirit of valiant Christian Americanism.

2. The American System of free speech, free press, free religion, free assemblage and free enterprise must be maintained in this nation irrespective of what social, economic or political systems any other nation may prefer and adopt.

3. The American Way has provided a wider distribution of prosperity and happiness than any other system of self-government ever attempted by human kind at any time or in any place.

4. This vast global upheaval has unleashed forces which will have far-reaching and dynamic influence upon the spiritual, social, economic and political strata in this nation as well as throughout the world. Revolutionary forces will capitalize and utilize the favorable conditions of unrest that are now a part of and which will follow this titanic struggle. Unprecedented problems will face our own nation as the result of external and internal pressure forces now at work which will be highly active during the readjustment period which we inevitably face.

5. Marxian Socialism is a growing force in this nation (as well as throughout the world) the history, character, and purpose of which is an alarming threat to all existing order. This particularly applies to religion — especially to Christianity.

6. The challenge of destructive,

organized Radicalism must be met intelligently and courageously. These are issues that require greater vigilance and understanding than in former times. The trend toward National Socialism is marked by a desire to centralize and expand Federal authority to encompass and control the minutiae of our lives—and such trend must inevitably eventuate into some form of collectivism *where the sovereignty of the individual is totally eclipsed by the sovereignty of the State.*

7. The best safe-guard against totalitarianism in this country is to preserve the integrity of our Constitutional "checks and balances"—and it is a distinct responsibility on the part of each citizen to help see that this is done. The Legislative — the Judicial — and the Executive Departments of government must remain independent of each other — and a wide range of States' rights must be preserved and respected if our Republic is to endure. Ours is distinctly a limited government deriving its powers from the governed and it must always remain so. Jefferson spoke truly when he said: "In matters of power then let no more be heard of confidence in men but bind down the officers of the government with the chains of the Constitution." *An all-powerful government tends to become arrogant, imperious, extravagant and Fascistic.*

8. The Church League of America, composed of a Committee of Clergy and a Committee of Laymen (The National Laymen's Council), works in common interests and common purpose to preserve those American traditions which constitute the only foundation upon which free institutions can survive.

9. This work is inspired by the Christian philosophy that elevates and dignifies human personality in contrast to the so-called "Collectivist" or Marxian doctrines which seek to make the people the servants of the State. American traditions mirror the State as the servant of the people. Christian philosophy teaches that people are the children of God—not the pawns of a soulless State. There is no place for free religion in either a Fascist or Socialist regime.

10. The Church League of America is a medium of contact between social and intellectual leaders and laymen, serving to bring about a closer mutual understanding and apprecia-

tion of each other's problems and interests in relation to each other and to the American system as a whole. Those who are affiliated with the Church League of America in action or in sympathy recognize that intellectual and spiritual freedom are inseparable from the freedom to accumulate and own—and that free enterprise is the only economic foundation upon which free institutions (churches, colleges, etc.) can satisfactorily survive with their great network of humanitarian activities which are peculiar to the church and education movement in this nation.

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Reports To Contributors

Annual Reports, showing complete income and expenditures of the Church League of America for the calendar year, are sent to every financial supporter of the League's work.

All contributors are sent receipts and records of contributions are kept on file in triplicate files. Annual reports on the operations of the League are sent to the Treasury Department in accordance with the requirements of established laws.

Our regular publication, NEWS & VIEWS, dealing with some current phase of subversive activity in the church and educational fields, is sent as a service to all who contribute \$5.00 or more per year to sustain the work of the League. For those who send \$10.00 or more per year, special research reports on individuals and organizations, government hearings in the fields of religion and education, and important books are sent, in addition to NEWS & VIEWS.

The League also offers a report service to its \$10.00 or more contributors which includes routine checks, involving twenty separate checking sources on names of individuals, organizations and publications which appear in the contributor's local community. Limitations are placed on this special service according to the amount of the supporter's contribution because of salaries of employees involved and time consumed in investigation and compilation of such reports.

Gifts Sought

Large gifts from Foundations and corporations are especially solicited to take care of the large overhead for maintaining the headquarters.

Plans are being drawn now by a noted architectural firm in Detroit for the new national headquarters building which will involve fund-raising in the amount of \$250,000.00. This will be a modern equipped, fire-proof building with space for executive offices, work rooms, machine and mail rooms, protected file rooms, radio and recording studios.

Directors

Present members of the Board of Directors of the Church League of America are:

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The present temporary General Chairman, who is also serving as Executive Secretary, is Edgar C. Bundy, biographical sketch of whom is as follows:

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON EDGAR C. BUNDY

Born in Stamford, Connecticut, November 1, 1915, son of Merton E. and Ida M. Bundy. Father died in 1918. Mother moved to Miami, Florida, and remarried. Step-father's name, Walton Floyd Studwell.

Attended public schools of Miami and Kissimmee, Florida. Was graduated from Miami Sr. High School with honors, June 1934. Awarded a four year scholarship to Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia, for having had highest average in Senior class of 500. Average of 97.8. Finished freshman year at Oglethorpe with 96 average and transferred to Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, in Fall of 1935.

While at Wheaton College was Director of College News Bureau and sports writer for Chicago papers. Worked entire way through Wheaton College and was graduated with AB degree in June 1938.

Joined the staff of the Chicago Herald-American in Fall of 1935 and then later with the operations department of American Airlines in New York, and in Chicago.

Entered the Armed Services in February of 1941 and rose in rank from Private to Major, seeing six years of active duty in Air Force Intelligence in every major theatre of war. Served first in South America, then in North Africa, Europe, China - Burma - India and after the war in Alaska. Received Nationalist China's highest aviation decoration from Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, the Bronze Star Medal from Major General Claire Chennault of the 14th Air Force, and five battle stars for major engagements.

Was Chief of Research and Analysis of the Intelligence Section, Headquarters, Alaskan Air Command in 1948 and a Briefing Officer for the Command.

In August 1948, he returned to the United States. Became City Editor of the Daily Journal, Wheaton, Illinois. In June 1949 received invitation from Senator Kenneth McKellar, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee, to testify before full committee in Washington on entire Far Eastern Situation, including China, Siberia, Japan, Manchuria, Korea, the Philippines, South East Asia and Alaska.

Testimony lasted for two hours before members of both Houses of the Congress, representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department and all the major news services. The presentation was termed by Republican and Democratic senators

alike as being one of the finest given on the Far East before a Senate Committee. These remarks were read into the record by Senators Bridges, McCarran and McKellar.

Bundy predicted under oath that South Korea would be attacked by the North Korean Communist forces which had been trained and equipped by the Soviets. This prediction was made one year and two days before it occurred. He also warned of the impending fall of China and scored the State Department, Dean Acheson and the Truman Administration for what he termed "appeasement of the Soviet Union and failure to recognize the Communist threat" in the Far East.

As a result of the publicity received from this presentation to the Congress, Bundy answered invitations to speak before leading clubs, conventions, town-halls, forums, patriotic societies, universities and colleges, and for the Republican Party.

Besides testifying frequently before Congressional committees he has supplied them with research material and has aided in the passage of three important bills through the Illinois State Legislature during three sessions, as an individual citizen.

He is a research analyst, lecturer, author and acting General Chairman of the Church League of America. In

1958 he published a 354-page documented book entitled *Collectivism In The Churches* (Devin-Adair Co., N.Y.) exposing the alarming extent to which Communist propaganda has penetrated religious groups and institutions. He is the author of numerous booklets and articles relating to church affairs.

Mr. Bundy was ordained as a Baptist minister in the Southern Baptist Convention, March 1942, in the Emmanuel Baptist Church of Alexandria, Louisiana, with Dr. Herschel H. Hobbs as chairman of the ordaining council.

Bundy is married to Lela May Nash Bundy of Louisiana.

He was awarded the American Legion's Americanism citation for distinguished service by the Department of Illinois, and was selected as Young Man of the Year by the Wheaton Junior Chamber of Commerce, of which he has been a member. He has been a member of the DuPage Young Republican organization, American Veterans of World War II, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Air Force Association, the 14th Air Force Association, the "40 & 8", and Co-ordinator of the DuPage County Coalition of Patriots. He was selected for two successive years as a member of the American Legion National Convention's Americanization Committee by the Illinois Legion,

and served as secretary of the Joint Foreign Relations - Americanization Convention Committees.

He is a Baptist and a member of the Twin City Baptist Temple of Mishawaka, Indiana. He holds a Major's commission in the U. S. Air Force Reserve and teaches frequently in Air Force schools as a guest lecturer.

All ministers and educators are placed on the mailing list for NEWS & VIEWS as soon as their names are forwarded to the Church League office, without a contribution being required. This is made possible by the lay contributors, upon whom the Church League depends for support.

The Church League sponsors Christian conferences and counter-subversive seminars in cities throughout the Nation. It has reached untold thousands of leaders in community life in many of the major cities of the United States.

Your contribution in support of the Church League is earnestly solicited.

Remember the League

Please consider remembering the Church League in your will so that future generations may enjoy freedom to worship in the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave.

For Further information, write:
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WHEATON, ILLINOIS

The COMMUNISTS Are After YOUR Church!

By HERBERT A. PHILBRICK
Author of "I LED THREE LIVES"

Subversion in the sanctuary is no scare cry—it's happening! Ruthless Communists—in clerical garb and out—are “using” unsuspecting church members in a vicious assault on democracy and religion. A man who was one of them tells here the shocking story.

A REPRINT OF MR. PHILBRICK'S ARTICLE IN CHRISTIAN HERALD

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Why the Philbrick Article?

by DANIEL A. POLING

WHY our article in this issue, "The Communists Are After Your Church" by Herbert Philbrick?

The answer to that question is another question, the question of one of the most distinguished Christian liberals and evangelical scholars in America, Dr. Herbert Gezork, President of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary. Dr. Gezork was one of 280 signers of the petition to grant amnesty to the eleven Communist leaders who were convicted in Judge Harold Medina's court. The petition was presented to him months before it was released. Twenty-five percent of the 280 were clergymen—overwhelmingly Protestant clergymen. But when President Truman saw the petition as finally presented to President Truman and released to the public, and read the signatures attached, he sent the following telegram to the President of the United States and also to Reverend Kenneth R. Forbes in Philadelphia, who had written him the original form letter:

"Please strike my name from the petition for amnesty to convicted Communist leaders as I gave my signature unaware of the implications of the petition. I have consistently opposed Communist views and do not wish to be associated in any way with this petition."

It is timely to note that Dr. Gezork served three times since World War II on Government missions to Germany, both of his parents and several other relatives perished under the Communists of Eastern Germany.

This is Dr. Gezork's question, written to me in a personal letter: "Is there something that could be done to inform ministers and others as to what really is at stake or who actually is behind the scenes when these petitions are presented to us...?" The Philbrick article is *CHRISTIAN HERALD*'s first answer to that question.

The forum of the "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee" was held in New York City on January 30th and 31st. One of the forum sessions was accorded the hospitality of the First Presbyterian Church. But on January 19th, the morning newspapers carried the story of the withdrawal of these three men, formerly named as "sponsors and participants": Reverend Dr. George R. Buttrick, Senior Minister of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City; and a former president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Dr. Paul Tillich, Professor of Philosophical Theology at Union Theological Seminary; and Dr. Hadley Cantril, Professor of Psychology of Princeton University. Dr. Tillich, in a letter to Dr. Paul Lehmann, Professor of Applied Christianity at Princeton Theological Seminary and chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee, emphasized the fact that he had accepted sponsorship of the forum only on the strength of Dr. Lehmann's name and that of other

sponsors, among them Dr. Buttrick. Dr. Buttrick declined to comment on his withdrawal—his withdrawal spoke for itself. Certainly many men who have remained on these and other "committees" are loyal Americans, too, but they will do well to re-examine their position even as these four have done. President John A. Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary, who published his support of American recognition of Red China and the admission of Peking to the United Nations, who remained on this committee. I do not question his purpose to be a loyal citizen of this country. But liberals do not easily withdraw. However, the courage to withdraw may be of higher degree than the stubbornness to remain.

In the spring of 1948, I was in North Africa with the American Army, accredited as a war correspondent and engaged in special activities with the Chaplains Corps. By cable I was invited to join "The Friends of Russia" in Philadelphia. Among those extending the invitation was my friend President Robert Livingston Johnson of Temple University. I joined President Johnson without before I did, but I withdrew. I was constantly overseas between 1941 and 1946. I lost track of my home commitments until a thoughtful friend called my attention to my membership on this all-out subversive committee—a committee we had joined in high

war fever when we were admonished to "understand our great ally, Russia." Three years ago I was warned by a courteous representative of the FBI. He inquired about my membership on this particular committee. I discovered, of course, that he already had the facts all of them. More, he showed me a sheet on which I was listed by the Soviet Embassy in Washington as an American citizen "to be cultivated." That morning I came face to face with the fact that the FBI had come not to smear but to clear. One of New York's famous preachers, a man of vast and worthy influence both within and beyond his faith, was chairman of a committee on Russian relief. He visited Moscow. Presently his loyalty was seriously challenged. It was the FBI that got the facts and cleared that worthy name.

The FBI has been hardly less alert in establishing the integrity of both clergymen and laymen, who have been misled and deceived, than it has been relentless in ferreting out purifiers, subversives and traitors.

The question is not, "Where was I then and why?" but "Where am I here and now?" The question of Dr. Herbert Gezork is germane. Herbert Philbrick's article, "The Communists Are After Your Church" is one of the answers.

The COMMUNISTS Are

By
HERBERT A.
PHILBRICK

After YOUR Church!

Loyal church members, indignant at the announced intention of Congressional investigators to root out subversion in the sanctuary, had better be looking to their own housecleaning. Here's the clear danger, and how to see to it that you are not duped or used by Communists

WETHER your church is a cathedral or a village meeting-house, the Communists are out to get it. Not that they intend to put your church out of business—just yet. They want to use it. They want to use you, a good church member, as they have used many others to "break" for their own objective, which is nothing less than the ultimate and complete destruction of democracy and religious faith.

I know what the Communists are out to do.

For nine years I was a volunteer counterespionage for the FBI, observing and participating in Communist strategy from the grassroots to high levels. And through loyal Americans who occupy key positions within the anti-Red underground, I know that the Communist threat to your church is greater now than at any time in twenty years. I know how the Reds have planted secret Communists in pulpits, how they have infiltrated seminaries, how they "use" good and unsuspecting Protestants, Catholics and Jews they have duped.

This is the story of what I know—as much of it as may be revealed—told so that you will realize that subversion in the sanctuary is the most deadly and insidious menace facing America today, and so that you will be not only aware of the danger but prepared to counteract it.

To dispose the inevitable charge of "Red baiting" let it be said at the outset that I was—and still am—a liberal. I believed then and I believe now that the social wrongs in the world and specifically in America ought to be righted. This is in my Baptist blood. I have a deep respect for liberals, being one of them. And I believe it is no unsurmountable task to sort out honest liberals from dishonest Communists. It can be done. It must be done if the churches are to win their life-and-death struggle with Marxism. Religion is making a poor showing in that struggle as of now.

It is no accident that your church is the number-one target of the Communist conspiracy in America today. The

Reds have flushed from previous nests of subversion. They do need the cover. For one thing, since the war the Communists have suffered severe setbacks in the field of labor. They have lost control of many unions which they don't. They want to use it. They want to use you, a good church member, as they have used many others to "break" for their own objective, which is nothing less than the ultimate and complete destruction of democracy and religious faith.

And they will fight no-holds-barred. For (1) no matter how well camouflaged it may be, the ultimate Soviet goal is the absolute, complete destruction of not only religious organizations but the whole moral structure of the Hebrew and Christian religions—and, remember this always, the exchanging of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Bondholders for the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Bondholders, cited as

subversive by the Attorney General of the United States as far back as June 1, 1948. Yet the November 24, 1952, issue of the *Daily Worker* carries the names of "20 notables" cooperating and working with the Red organization, based squarely on the ruthless conviction that the ends justify the means. The success which Communists have had in following Party orders to infiltrate and use church leaders is indicated by the fact that there were more preachers on the list of names than representatives of any other profession, and there was not a single name of a responsible labor leader in the group.

Secondly, government prosecution and Congressional investigations have sent thousands of comrades scurrying for respectable disguises. As a disguise, the church offers Communists decided advantages. It is the stronghold of idealism. It is the place where one expects to find a social conscience. It is the social wrongs in the world and specifically in America ought to be righted. This is in my Baptist blood. I have a deep respect for liberals, being one of them. And I believe it is no unsurmountable task to sort out honest liberals from dishonest Communists. It can be done. It must be done if the churches are to win their life-and-death struggle with Marxism. Religion is making a poor showing in that struggle as of now.

I was 25 that spring of 1940 when I walked into the office of the "Massachusetts Youth Council" of Boston. I was a youthful salesman confident of my ability to make a living, a youthful Christian bent on making the world safe for peace and brotherhood. When I walked out of that office, I had been won over. I was given the flattering assignment of organizing the Cambridge Youth Council.

By the end of December, I knew that I had been "taken." That was when the Reds didn't need the churches in past years; they had ample other chan-

nels that I might stay where I was to discover the Communists' intentions. The nine-year experience led me as near to the top of the Communist organization as it is possible to go, and culminated in my being a witness in New York in the government's case against eleven Communist leaders.

IN 1942 I was ordered by the Party to maintain strong ties with the Baptist church, the denomination with which I had been affiliated since early youth. I did this, joining the First Baptist Church of Wakefield, Massachusetts, becoming a member of the administration committee, chairman of the public relations committee, Sunday school teacher and head of the young married couples' club. None of the church members had any knowledge of my affiliation with the Communist Party. The Party bosses instructed me to carry out Communist projects in the church. I "neglected" to do so, using as my excuse the pressure of other Party responsibilities. A genuine Communist in my position could have wreaked havoc on religion. The Communists have made advances not only in their capture of youth, but in their use of clergymen. Clever indeed are the appeals made for ministerial support on humanitarian grounds, resulting in the support the Party wants. The publicly available record of support elicited by the comrades among church leaders is appalling. Virtually no Communist or Communist-front activity takes place today without ministerial and church support, sponsorship or participation.

Sometimes this shows up in a church literature. The Communist Party leans heavily upon publicly printed and distributed magazines, papers and books which do not bear Communist Party identification as such. But one can get the Communist influence by the terminology often used—the scoffing at capitalism, the labeling of the United States as "imperialist," the sneering directed at the profit motive. America is not wholly perfect. But neither is it wholly imperfect, as the Communists would have you believe.

Most of the persons involved—in the

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK in 1940 became chairman of a Boston suburban youth group only to discover that a group of Communists had "captured" his organization. About to resign, he decided instead to take his problem to the FBI. They suggested that he might stay in, learn Communist intentions. For nine years he did, eventually being taken into the inner circle—the all-powerful "Pro-F" group, masters of Communist strategy for the area. Eventually the FBI had sufficient evidence to spring the trap on the eleven Communist leaders who were brought to trial in New York, April, 1949. Until the moment he appeared as a surprise witness against the defendants, Herbert Philbrick had been a top-drawer Communist in good standing. The story of his perilous existence as citizen-Communist" counterespionage is told in his book, "I Led Three Lives." Here, he tells a story never before revealed of Communist infiltration into America's churches.

pulpit, in publishing, in the training of ministers—have been duped. It is not so difficult to believe that good men can be hoodwinked. But it will come as a jolt to many Christians to discover that some members of the clergy are not dupes but hardened Communists who are completely loyal to Russia.

When in the fall of 1947 I was ordered by the Party to cut off all previous Communist Party associations, to destroy my Communist Party membership card and never to carry one again, to go "underground" and to join that top-level section of the Party identified as the "Pro-group," I was shocked to discover in the Pro-Group (variously known as Pro-4, Pro-C and other coded designations) certain leading citizens of the New England States whom I had known publicly, outside of the Communist Party, without any prior knowledge that they were members of the Communist Party itself. Among them were doctors, lawyers, teachers, professors, business men, authors, publishers, government workers. And there they were, well-trained, highly educated, enjoying the confidence and trust of large numbers of people about them—the most deeply underground section of the Communist Party in this nation. I discovered that in Boston the Party had 70 to 80 Pro-group members.

But, to me, the most shocking fact was that there was also a special sub-service cell of hardened, disciplined, trained agents of Stalin, men who were ministers of the Gospel!

Members of major denominations, they were assigned countless special tasks for the Communist conspiracy. Among the tasks were these: helping to spread Soviet-inspired dissension and confusion, subtly injecting distrust in our government, our leaders and our way of life; spreading distrust and hatred of "capitalists," businessmen, employers, company heads, stock owners; popularizing a sly contempt for the police, the courts, the FBI and other government law-enforcement agencies; attacking all anti-Communist individuals, laws, measures and investigative groups; defending Communist Party members and their travelers; lending their weight to the indoctrinating of youth in seminaries; participating in Soviet espionage and transmitting intelligence information for the Soviet Government; providing stature and integrity to Communists and pro-Communists by church sponsorship; and, by clever and subtle operation, victimizing many hundreds of non-Communist ministers and laymen into seeming support of the Soviet dictatorship and enmity against their own United States Government.

I am not guessing about this. I saw those ministers in action—ruthless Communist leaders, prostituting the Christian ministry to the evil ends of atheism and oppression. They knew exactly what they were doing. They were clergymen because it suited their purpose and that of their superiors to be clergymen.

I remember the occasion in 1948 when urgent instructions were sent to me from Communist Party headquarters to immediately contact Elizabeth Moos, former mother-in-law of

the now-convicted perjurer, William Remington. She and I, both trusted members of the Communist Party underground, were to work on a special project. The job was to organize a suitable welcome for the Dean of Canterbury, the Rt. Rev. Hewlett Johnson. Also assigned to the project was the Boston cell of ministers, whose loyalty to the Soviet Union was unquestioned by the Communist Party leaders.

When the Dean finally arrived in Boston, I was "privileged" to meet him under special circumstances—in a closed, secret meeting of highly placed comrades under conditions that could mean only one thing: that Hewlett Johnson was himself not only a secret, trusted member of the Communist International, but a person of extreme importance and value to the Soviet conspiracy.

I remember another incident when I sat in a Pro-group meeting in the Grove Street apartment of Mrs. Harold A. Fletcher, Jr., or Martha Fletcher, as she was known to hundreds of Boston young people for her youth work in the Unitarian Church. It was my job that evening to lead the discussion on the use of civil disobedience as a Communist weapon. Martha—trusted youth leader of her denomination—broke in: "The time has come when we must be realistic. We Communists must be vigilant to support incidents of civil disobedience wherever we find them, and to initiate them where necessary."

SO MUCH for the out-and-out Communist who knows exactly what he is doing and why. What of the good person who is eagerly trying to improve social and economic conditions? How is he used?

Consider the public reception for the Dean of Canterbury. There were many non-Communists present for the "welcome"—all of them duped by persons they trusted. The names of clergymen on the initial announcement gave an aura of Christian respectability to the occasion, and unsuspecting folks went along. Why should anyone distrust a minister? This was unthinkable—to anybody but a Communist, who uses any means to accomplish his ends!

My own church membership helped to establish my all-important "cover" so that I could be used safely by the Party in other projects. Thus, when American Youth for Democracy was formed, Comrade Philbrick, the Massachusetts State Treasurer, was billed as a "Baptist youth leader." The same was true with the Cambridge Committee for Equal Opportunities, Youth for Victory, and innumerable other Communist fronts.

Ministers, too, were used to allay any possible suspicion by the public of subversive activity. In the Massachusetts AYD not only was a "Baptist youth leader"—myself—the treasurer, but the list of adult sponsors included the names of three ministers over the Christmas holiday, he was dismayed to learn that he had actually endorsed complete amnesty—and published a retraction.

It is easy to see how he was misled in the first place. That petition to the President was prefaced with these glowing words: "As the Christmas sea-

take of placing their trust in certain individuals with the title of "Rev."

A glance at the *Daily Worker*, *Sunday Worker*, *Daily People's World*, and other Communist documents is enlightening.

In a single issue of the *Worker* of Wednesday, January 7, there is:

—a report that at a "Rally to Save the Rosenbergs" on the lower East side of New York, 2000 messages asking clemency were distributed . . . signed by clergymen.

—an advertisement announcing a dinner honoring the publishers and stockholders of the *Worker*, on January 9. The caption of the advertisement is, "You're Dining with Rev. Eliot White," and a photograph of the Rev. Mr. Eliot White complete with clerical collar appears in the ad.

—a triumphant editorial crowing about Communist success in exploiting the Rosenberg case. Brags the *Worker*, "conservative men, Catholic priests . . . Protestant ministers . . . have spoken out for clemency."

The Communist propaganda campaign surrounding the Rosenberg case was undoubtedly the greatest single effort of its kind since the "Release Earl Browder" drive. The direction of the Rosenberg campaign came from the "Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case," at 1050 Avenue of the Americas, New York 18, N. Y. On the list of "sponsors" of the organization appear the names of two ministers and a rabbi. News releases on the committee's letterheads have been mailed over the name of a Methodist minister. Church folks who hold no brief for Communism, but who are understandably and rightfully committed to the precepts of brotherhood and social decency, see the names of clergymen on petitions or letterheads and are disarmed.

Petitions are one of the commonest—and most effective—Communist tools for enlisting the prestige value of the names of unsuspecting victims. The originating "Reverend" attracts other ministers, whose endorsements attract others—and the propaganda snowballs enormously. Many of the signers, if they discover their blunder later on, are too embarrassed to admit that they "didn't read" what they signed, or that the published statement attributed to their endorsement differed in substantial detail from what they had signed.

A few courageous ministers and laymen have admitted their error and sought publicly to correct them. The pastor of a suburban Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati was one. Supposing that he was signing a statement asking that the eleven convicted Communist Party leaders be granted the privilege of visiting their families only over the Christmas holiday, he was dismayed to learn that he had actually endorsed complete amnesty—and published a retraction.

It is easy to see how he was misled in the first place. That petition to the President was prefaced with these glowing words: "As the Christmas sea-

son approaches, its message of God's grace to all men of good will rings out. Hope is born afresh for each individual man and woman in whose heart some genuine concern for others is nourished. The dignity of the individual, the sanctity of the family relationship, and the worth of human striving for the whole of mankind—these are the fruits of the Christian faith. In the words that Tolstoy made the title of a famous story, 'Where Love Is, God Is.'

A GREAT number of ministers fell into that carefully planned trap—mailed from the post office box of a "Reverend" in New York! And on January 15 the *Daily Worker* announced gleefully that "One hundred and sixty-one church leaders representing 15 major Protestant denominations laid before President Truman at Christmastime their appeal for amnesty for eleven leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act."

Another recent piece of Communist propaganda was also an "amnesty appeal" for the convicted eleven. Contained among the usual platitudes and high-sounding noble phrases was this gem: "Increasing multitudes of people—including non-Communists and anti-Communists—consider that the continued imprisonment of these political dissenters means that the Government of the United States fears the American people, and is no longer strong enough to tolerate freedom of speech and political association." The propaganda line that the United States is a "police state," weak and shaky, living in fear of you and me, the American people, is unadulterated and typically brazen material straight from Moscow itself.

Yet, who signed this petition? Two hundred and eighty "prominent" Americans—and more than 25 per cent of them ministers of the Gospel!

I took the trouble to telephone some of these people, a few of whom I knew to be non-Communist. They were vague in their recollections. When I read the statement they had allegedly "signed," they were horrified.

How did intelligent church leaders fall into such a trap? In my file of material obtained from informants close to the comrades, I had a copy of the original letter which had gone out to these 280 persons. Their memory was vague because the "appeal" had been mailed to them August 11, 1952 (more than four months prior to its appearance in the *Communist* press).

And the persons who had fallen into the Communist trap then said to me:

"I remember now—but the letter to me came from a minister—and so of course I did not suppose for a moment . . ."

It is also evident that most of them did not read the fine print on the attached statement, nor did they sign the statement itself, but merely a return post card pre-addressed to a post office box in Philadelphia. The victims were also not aware that the "minister," although ordained some years ago, has no church, parish, or standing in the Philadelphia area from which he operates, or that he has been flagrantly associated with a number of pro-Communist movements.

"Mass meetings" are always important to Communist Party agitators, and the use of religious leaders here is very helpful to the Reds. A Sunday, January 16, 1953, meeting held in New York City is typical of hundreds of similar ones conducted every month across the country. A group calling itself the "National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership" presented citations to "Negro men and women who have fought for democracy and peace"—noble objectives in anybody's book. Just in case the high purpose should fail to entice prospective victims, a galaxy of stars in clerical garb were prominently displayed. A minister delivered the invocation and was chairman of the Citation Committee.

All this, however, was only "cover" for the principle objective of the meeting: to build and promote the prestige and standing of top Communist Party bosses. The chief address was delivered by an editor of the official Communist Party publication, *Masses and Mainstream*. Paul Robeson also spoke, and was given a citation; poems by Langston Hughes were read. One citation was presented, in absentia, to Henry Winston, who was convicted in the first trial of Communist Party "poltiburo" members, but who fled after sentencing and is now a fugitive from justice. Apparently the clergymen saw nothing odd in sharing honors with a convicted criminal-at-large. The mass meeting is always good as a publicity buildup—and may snare you if you are not alert.

HOW can you guard against being "used" by forces diametrically opposed to what your church stands for?

First—and most important—don't go mistrusting every minister, rabbi and priest in the land. The vast majority of clergymen are, of course, completely loyal to both God and country. So don't go looking for Communists under every pulpit.

And we must not mistake religious individualism for indications of subversive activity. The traditional spirit of religious freedom so precious in America is of greater value and importance than ever before in the face of the rigid, totalitarian Soviet dictatorship. The tradition of dissent must always be strong, particularly among Protestant church called into existence by their fearless protestations. The freedoms we enjoy today—what are they but the fruits of our lively and liberal Protestant heritage? The fearless championing of such freedoms must not be abandoned.

Admittedly the task of the Christian is difficult. He has a two-way fight on his hands. He must fight against reaction, and he must fight against being duped by Communist groups which are not liberal but the greatest and most vicious forces of reaction in the world. In view of what people know now of anti-God Communism it would seem to be incredible that anyone can be seduced into its ranks. The greatest Communist deceit of all is that it makes good folks forget its barbarism by talking of its high objectives!

RELIGIOUSLY-motivated social improvements in our great land must never be quenched. The long fight for social justice, racial tolerance and understanding, political and community corruption—all these and a thousand others we Protestants have waged must never slacken. But let's be sure whose leaders we're following and whose armor we're wearing! The New Testament writer, John, put it, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world."

How are you, sincere in your faith, zealous in your Americanism, liberal in the truest sense of the word, to "try the spirits"? Preeminently, know what you believe about God and about your country. And know what the Communists believe and advocate. Write for and examine the reports of the Senate and House investigations of Communist activity in the United Nations, education, the Soviet "peace" campaign against America, and others. Read qualified writers on the subject of Communism. There are more than 300 available books on the subject, many of them at your local library.

A tip-off to watch for is the gigantic switch of policy—for Germany when the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, against Germany when Hitler marched into Russia; sudden shifts resulting from Russia's new campaign of terror against the Jews. The true liberal doesn't easily change his mind. He doesn't blow hot one day and cold the next. He's for his convictions, come what may. But the dishonest "liberal," the Communist or would-be Communist, changes his dance to fit the tune piped by the Kremlin.

Don't be eager to sign the ready-made and prepared petition or statement of any kind, no matter how desirable its goal may seem to be. If you wish to participate in a matter of national issue, it is far better to make your own statement, in your own words, and that you say what you think rather than what a secret Communist wants you to think.

Don't participate, without careful prior investigation, in "mass action" that merely looks good because it parrots some of your favorite idealistic phrases. Don't sign a petition simply because the name of a prominent preacher already appears on the list. Insist upon knowing the origin.

Don't open your church doors willy-nilly to every civic or "social betterment" group that comes along; first check and double-check their authenticity. The Communist, from long experience, has found a church to be an ideal meeting place. He gets a bigger audience, a respectable platform, and the cost is little and often nothing.

Never forget that a Communist is a Communist every day all day, in everything he does. However evil and sinister his methods, the Communist has out-thought, out-maneuvered, and surpassed in dedication those of us who call ourselves by the name of Christ.

If we Christians cannot in this hour match and more than match the dedication of the Communists, then we will lose the fight—and we will deserve to lose.

But we will not lose—because we dare not!

THE END

THE RELATION OF THE LOCAL COUNCILS OF CHURCHES
TO THE NATIONAL AND WORLD COUNCILS AND THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

Some of those who have been ensnared into the ecumenical movement on the local level by joining the city, county, or state councils of churches -- despite the fact that their particular denomination is not affiliated with the National or World Councils -- are trying to maintain the impossible position that the local councils are not affiliated with the National and World Councils.

There are many denominations such as the Southern Baptist Convention, the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church, the Church of the Nazarene, the Assemblies of God, the Church of God, the Pentecostal Churches, the Four-Square Churches, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and others which have steadfastly refused to join the National and World Councils.

Knowing this, the leaders of the National Council of Churches have devised the strategy of getting individual churches of these denominations to align themselves with the local or city councils of churches or ministerial groups, which constitute the lowest cooperative unit of the National and World Councils.

Many a pastor has been innocently taken in by these local units on the theory that he and the church would be helping to promote a "Christian unity" in the community, not realizing that the long fingers of the National Council were reaching down into the church with their ecumenical propaganda and using, through the statistical method, his church in the Council's effort to pose as speaking for the vast majority of Protestant churches in the United States.

Some pastors, whose denominations have never joined the National Council have suddenly found themselves "elected" to the Board of Directors of the local council of churches which is wholly dominated by churches of denominations already in the National Council.

To the credit of many of these pastors is the fact that they have later resigned when they discovered that the local council of churches was actually a definite part of the National Council's vast political-religious ecumenical organization.

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In order that there might be no question as to the facts concerning the relationship between the National Council of Churches and the local councils of churches, we are herewith appending photographed sections of the National Council's own Biennial and Triennial Reports with pages specifically taken from the Department of Field Administration and the Field Operations Committee.

These pages are taken from the 1952, the 1954, and the 1957 official reports of the National Council of Churches.

It should be noted by the reader that not only does the National Council of Churches aid in organizing the local councils in the various cities, but it also supplies personnel for these councils, literature, advice; and, receives in return financial contributions from the local councils to promote the National Council's work. Proof of this statement is found in the attached photographed copy of the National Council's Statement of Income and Expenses for the period 1952 through 1954.

For some unknown reason the National Council has not listed in its financial statements in these reports a break-down of the amount of money contributed by the constituent denominations annually, such as was done by its predecessor, the Federal Council of Churches. Could this be that too many individuals in denominations affiliated with the National Council have been asking questions in regard to the amount contributed by their respective denominations to the National Council?

Why did not the National Council of Churches, in its 1957 Triennial Report list under the item INCOME the amount of contributions from the local councils of churches such as it did in the 1954 Biennial Report under the title "Councils of Churches & other organizations"? In the 1957 report the National Council simply lists under INCOME: Contributions - "Other" after giving a total figure of contributions from "Member Denominations".

So, in the Income - Contributions column of the statement of Income and Expenses for the triennial period ending at the close of 1957 we find neither a breakdown of the individual denominations' contributions or those of the local councils of churches. Denominational contributions ranged from a low of \$3,163,385

to a high of \$4,713,987. Under "Other", (which evidently includes the contributions from the local councils of churches) the sum varies from \$3,199,327 to \$3,818,574, or a total of \$7,913,314 contributed for the year 1957 alone from member denominations, local councils of churches, foundations, corporations, and individuals.

Local churches which have aligned themselves with a city, county, or state council of churches had better take a look at the official records of the National Council in regard to the relationship between these local units and its own headquarters.

This is true also in regard to the United Church Women, which is the women's division of the National Council and which operates extensively through local city councils of United Church Women, throughout the United States, in order to promote the National Council's program and propaganda.

In the 1957 Triennial Report of the National Council of Churches, the president of United Church Women, in her own report to the National Council states on page 169 as follows:

"The program of United Church Women is the program of the National Council of Churches, adapted to the specific needs, significant contributions, and abilities of women. It is carried forward through a Board of Managers of some 325 persons, representing twenty-two denominational women's groups, fifty state and 2200 local councils of church women."

This means, beyond argument, that the local councils of churches, and the local councils of United Church Women are part and parcel of the whole National Council of Churches system.

Workbook
for the
Second
General
Assembly

Directory • Roster • Reports

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Denver, Colorado, December 9-12, 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-19-96 BY SP300/CC

Central Department of Field Administration

THIS DEPARTMENT is concerned with the co-operative work of the churches in states, cities, counties, and local communities. It seeks to strengthen this co-operation in every way possible because it recognizes that the test of the ecumenical movement centers here. Through Field Administration the National Council strives to increase both the volume and the quality of the churches' co-operative program and service. This involves continuous field service to state and local councils of churches, councils of church women and ministerial associations; personnel counseling, recruitment and training; field program projects; assistance to National Council units in co-ordinating their field programs and collaboration with constituent denominations with a view to achieving a larger degree of denominational program co-ordination at the national and local levels.

The Board of Managers has held four meetings during the biennium. The current approach which it is making to the supervision of the Council's field program is illustrated by its standing subcommittees. They include: Extension in Field Organization, Denominational Program Co-ordination, Criteria of Evaluation and Measurement, Committee on Personnel Preparation, Field Counseling Literature, Planning and Adjustment of Local Interchurch Relations, and the Advisory Committees for the Southeastern and Southwestern regional offices. There are 96 members of the Board. It is widely representative geographically and includes persons from both the field agencies of the churches and the major units of the Council carrying forward field program.

Handbook

The department sponsored the publication of the 1952-1953 *Handbook* of the National Council. This handbook seeks to convey to churches and councils of churches a more complete picture of the program and staff resources of the National Council of Churches which are available for state and local program guidance and action. The handbook is topically arranged and affords a ready program reference guide to councils of churches, councils of church women, ministerial associations, and denominational offices.

State Organizations

Notable progress was made during the biennium in the development of councils of churches in Georgia and Texas. In each of these states tentative constitutions have been developed for submission to the state denominational bodies for their consideration. The denominational actions thereupon have been almost universally favorable and the launching of these two new state councils of churches represents a major achievement in Field organization. At present there are

- 40 states which have a state council of churches (36 of which have paid leadership)
- 8 states which have no state council of churches (Alabama, Arkansas, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming)
- 48 states which have a state council of church women

Local Developments

Protestant and Orthodox Christian Churches have a major co-operative service to perform in their geographical communities. For this they require a co-operative agency through which to work together. This need is met through state, city, county, and local councils. Some of these agencies are councils of churches, many of which include departments of united church women and united church men, some are councils of religious education, larger parishes, and Sunday school associations. Some have professionally trained executive leadership while others rely upon volunteers. At present there are

- 189 local councils of churches, councils of religious education, etc., with paid leadership
- 729 local councils of churches, councils of religious education, etc., with voluntary leadership

To summarize, the organizational status of state and local co-operation, there are:

- *227 state and local councils with paid executive leadership
- 733 state and local councils with voluntary leadership
- 960 state and local councils with paid and voluntary leadership

In addition there are:

- 1903 state, city, and local councils of united church women
- 21 state and local departments of united church men
- 1927 ministerial associations

Offices

The general office of the department is in New York, with a midwestern office in Chicago. The department has regional offices in Atlanta, Georgia, and Fort Worth, Texas. The specialized services of the offices outside New York include:

Midwestern Office

Central Services: The Midwestern Office, under the direction of the associate executive director, shares in the guidance of the total field administration activities and in counseling with state and city

* There are 2 state councils in California, 2 in Pennsylvania and 1 in Maryland-Delaware.

councils in regard to personnel, program development, and study of organization and function. He also carries responsibility for program promotion and maintaining of permanent files and records for the Association of Council Secretaries' annual meetings.

During the biennium a Midwestern Regional Conference for Officers and Executives of Councils of Churches and Councils of Church Women was held in connection with the Chicago Conference on Christian Unity, jointly sponsored by the Disciples Divinity House of the University of Chicago, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Sunday Evening Club, and the Central Department of Field Administration.

Field Counseling Literature: The Literature Subcommittee for the Department as a whole has been assigned responsibility for the revision of existing pamphlets in the Church Co-operation Series. It also has responsibility for the development of additional pamphlets needed in field counseling. The committee is at work on revision of Pamphlet No. 2 on the organization of a council of churches.

Christian Education: The associate executive director also serves the Division of Christian Education in its effort to co-ordinate the National Council's field program in Christian Education. The Division has a Field Service Committee whose purpose is to co-ordinate the work of the Commission on General Christian Education and ultimately work more closely with the Commission on Christian Higher Education and the Joint Commission on Missionary Education. The staff of the Commission on General Christian Education has had a committee working for several years on a United Field Strategy. This committee has reported to the Commission and to the Central Department of Field Administration.

The associate executive director has served as a member of the staff Committee on the Revised Standard Version Bible Observance and during the biennium has done field work for the Observance. He has also cared for physical arrangements for the Division of Christian Education's annual meetings.

Southeastern Office

The major activities of the Southeastern Office of the National Council of Churches during the biennium now closing can be placed in the categories of

1. Organizing new groups and strengthening already existing ones for advancing the cause of co-operative Christianity in the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.
2. Interpreting the National Council and the total ecumenical movement to an area which is strongly denominational minded and without an adequate knowledge of the philosophy and working plans of the co-operative Christian movement.

Christian co-operation across denominational lines takes many forms and is periodically in evidence almost everywhere in the southeast. However, a well organized, all inclusive, smooth running and continuous co-operative interdenominational agency is a rarity on the state level and almost non-existent on the local level. Helping to change this picture has constituted the greatest challenge of the Atlanta office.

Of the ten southeastern states only one has been so well organized with continuing leadership in the state council of churches that no more than token service has been given by the Atlanta office. Service has been rendered, however, in varying degrees to all other states, including the five with state councils, all of which have changed executive leadership within the biennium. One state council, which exists almost in name only, has required much attention, and two states with no state councils have provided opportunity for initiating organizational efforts. One state is now on the verge of constituting its state council as a culmination of the efforts of the Atlanta office.

In the area of work with United Church Women, it can be reported that all ten states have state councils and local organizations are numerous. Constant calls by these groups have been answered by the Atlanta office, for it is clearly recognized that, in many places, the first steps toward any form of interdenominational co-operation will be taken by these councils.

United Christian Youth work has been extremely slow in the area, though considerable activity has radiated from the Atlanta office. Local and state Christian youth councils usually exist only short periods of time.

Ministerial associations have offered good opportunity for strengthening the interdenominational activities on the local levels although usually these are very weak groups professionally. The Atlanta office is seeking to lift their level of program planning by sharing information about successful activities.

Almost without exception, all councils of churches, councils of church women, United Christian Youth organizations and other such programs are operating on such limited budgets that fully adequate executive personnel cannot always be secured. The Atlanta office has sought to challenge the leadership of the various councils with this situation and lift the sights of those responsible for securing leadership.

A more adequate interpretation of the co-operative Christian movement is essential throughout the entire area before much can be achieved in organized Council efforts. Such interpretation by the Southeastern office has taken many forms, including:

- (a) Southeastern Convocation in November, 1951;
- (b) a constant schedule of interpretative lectures, conferences with individuals, local church groups,

conferences, and conventions of national church bodies, camps and retreats, colleges, ministerial associations, councils of churches, and other similar groups; (c) personal contact with newspaper editors, secretaries of chambers of commerce, better business bureaus, and other such groups dealing with the general public; and (d) distribution of informational and program literature of the National Council and related agencies, including state, local, and world councils.

The Southeastern office has, of course, been concerned with general program promotion of the National Council. It could not assist a local council of churches build its program without offering the resources of the National Council. Neither could it interpret the ecumenical movement without documenting theory with such practical activities as the Revised Standard Version Bible Observance, the Overseas Relief Program, or the Pastoral Services, only to mention a few.

The program radiating from the Southeastern office is a well-rounded program, designed to serve the people in the area. Our one regret is that the program has to be limited to that of serving only when requested. Such demands have from the very first required all the time of the director and the office secretary.

Southwestern Office

Through the generous co-operation of the Brite College of the Bible, Texas Christian University, a regional office has been established at Fort Worth, Texas. A Southwestern Regional Convocation was conducted in San Antonio, Texas, in April, 1951. Preparatory steps have been taken to organize the Texas Council of Churches and preliminary consultations have been arranged with denominational bodies in Arkansas and Louisiana for developing interchurch co-operation in these states. It is encouraging to note also that the Dallas and Houston councils of churches have employed professionally trained executive personnel during the biennium. The office has served as an information and referral center for the total work of the National Council and has also given special assistance in the promotion of the R.S.V.B. Observance and the regional conferences on Christian education.

Field Service Itinerary Schedules

The Field Service Itinerary Schedules were issued quarterly. These schedules list the dates, places, and types of meetings in which the National Council staff members participate during the quarter. They were made available to councils of churches executives and to the National Council executive staff.

Centralized Calendar Service

The Centralized Calendar Service lists dates for major program events of the National Council units; also those of other interdenominational agencies and constituent communions and boards.

This service was made available to executives of councils of churches, National Council staff, to interdenominational and denominational executives, and to the press.

Program Co-ordination

The director of Program Co-ordination has responsibility for assisting local and state councils of churches and councils of church women in co-ordinating and integrating their mutual program interests and activities. Since the initiation of this service on September 1, 1951, numerous conferences have been held with leaders of councils of churches and councils of church women to ascertain the areas of need they serve and their relationships with each other in meeting their common concerns. These exploratory conferences have been the occasion for assisting these councils in an evaluation of their work and in helping them see the degree to which they might more helpfully co-ordinate the various phases of their interdenominational work in the geographical area in which they serve. The director of Program Co-ordination also serves as an interpreter of the National Council of Churches, its aims, methods of operation, and program services.

Financial Counseling

In developing the program of Financial Counseling (which began in April, 1952) four phases were blocked out for emphasis:

Consultation with finance and executive committees of councils of churches and councils of church women, as well as staff members, on the councils' financial problems and steps that could be taken in a long-range program. Contact has been made with the following councils during 1952:

STATE COUNCILS

Arizona	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania
Northern California	New Jersey	Vermont
Southern California	New York	Washington
Georgia	North Carolina	West Virginia
Indiana	Oregon	Wisconsin

LOCAL COUNCILS

Arizona	Indiana	Oregon
Phoenix	Indianapolis	Portland
Tucson	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania
California	Attleboro	Erie
Glendale		Lancaster
Long Beach	New Hampshire	Reading
Los Angeles	Concord	Texas
Pasadena		Dallas
Peninsula	New Jersey	Houston
Redlands	Bergen County	San Antonio
Sacramento	Trenton	Vermont
San Bernardino		Burlington
San Diego	New York	Rutland
San Mateo	New York	Washington
Santa Monica	Yonkers	Seattle
Connecticut		Spokane
New Haven	Ohio	Tacoma
Georgia	Cincinnati	
Atlanta	Dayton	

The department joined in sponsoring the Boston University Summer School of Ecumenical Administration in the summers of 1951 and 1952. Six graduate courses were offered each summer, the purposes of which were to help prepare men and women for council of churches executive leadership. This summer session provides both practical experience and academic credit toward collegiate and graduate professional degrees.

The New York and Chicago offices of the department maintain a personnel counseling service to aid committees from councils of churches in locating candidates for executive positions.

Program Planning Conferences

Program Planning Conferences from one to three days duration were held during the biennium in New

York, Ohio, Indiana, Colorado, Maine, West Virginia, Rhode Island, Illinois, South Dakota, and the cities of Detroit, Denver, Indianapolis, and New Haven. These conferences seek to examine what the churches are now doing and ascertain more clearly what God wants his churches to be doing together. They are frequently called Protestant strategy planning conferences and include the officers and staff members of the member communions and councils of churches in the area. The department has under development certain criteria for the evaluation and measurement of the work of councils of churches. These criteria have proven useful both in program evaluation and program planning for the future. The department plans to make these planning conferences a major activity during the next biennium.

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF FIELD ADMINISTRATION

THE OFFICERS

Hugh Chamberlin Burr, *chairman*
Mrs. William Sale Terrell, *vice-chairman*
Raymond R. Peters, *recording secretary*

THE STAFF

J. Quinter Miller, *executive director*
John B. Ketcham, *associate executive director (Mid-west Office)*
Winfred C. Buckwalter, Jr., *director of Financial Counseling*
Don F. Pielstick, *director of Church Planning and Adjustment*
Frances C. Query, *director of Field Program Co-ordination and Counseling*
Ernest J. Arnold, *director of Southeastern Office*
Harry C. Munro, *director of Southwestern Office*
Theresa Capell, *assistant to executive director*

plification of accounts in the interest of economy and we are already taking steps to that end.

Consolidation of Investment Operations

Progress in this area has been slow because of the technical legal problems surrounding the transfer of funds from the merging agencies. We are pleased to report, however, that steps have been planned, and will be taken in meetings here at Denver, whereby such funds, with minor exceptions, will be in the custody of the National Council or its incorporated units and will be under central supervision by the end of the fiscal year.

We have a competent Investment Committee which has already invested \$500,000 of surplus in designated or restricted current funds and which stands ready to supervise investment of permanent funds as they are transferred to the Council.

Budget Operations

The problems in the field of budget building and budget control have been sizeable and complicated.

Our first task was that of adopting forms and establishing procedures for obtaining comparable types of information from all units, all of which had followed differing procedures under the merging agencies.

Our next task was that of scrutinizing budgets in order to determine their validity for departments of a united organization. Because of the late date on which our committee was organized, little was accomplished in relation to the 1952 budget. The budget hearings, which have been instituted this year, however, guarantee a much sounder budget for 1953.

In co-operation with the appraisal Committee, our Committee has adopted principles of budget building, assignments of responsibility for budget building and procedures for budget control which we believe will provide an effective budget operation.

Solicitation of Income

Our Committee has counseled with our Finance Department regarding plans for income solicitation, and our members have co-operated in numerous solicitation efforts. A special Committee on Denominational Quotas of the General Board has outlined a plan for fair allocation of responsibility for support by our member denominations. The efforts of this committee have already brought a substantial increase in income.

A far-reaching effort has been made by the National Laymen's Committee and the Department of Finance to cultivate new gifts from individuals, corporations, and foundations. This has brought many new friends and contributions.

The Council brought over from the merging agencies 12,000 individual and 850 corporation gift accounts. It was our judgment that these accounts should be classified and solicitation procedures should be established whereby conflicting appeals to any single donor could be avoided. This task of classifying in-

formation while carrying forward solicitation activities was a prodigious one for which the Department of Finance deserves strong commendation. The Council has greatly increased its Foundation support though mostly for designated and restricted projects. We are pleased to report that the Council closed its first year without a deficit in its undesignated funds and with an increase of \$180,660 in its designated and restricted funds. We hope to achieve as good a record in 1953.

Allocation of Costs of Central Services

The greatest financing problem of the National Council has been that of covering the cost of its central services in face of the fact that most of its inherited sources of income were for designated purposes. Our committee is now perfecting plans for allocating distributed costs of General Services among all major units and prorating general undesignated income equitably among these units. This will greatly contribute to the success of the Council's fiscal operations and should quickly bring more support for its program activities.

A New Pension Plan

During the biennium, a new Pension Plan has been developed for the Council. This plan, as finally approved by the General Board, provides for the same percentage payments for all employees. It also provides for needed flexibility in carrying forward the contractual obligations which were inherited from the merging agencies and their respective Pension Plans.

Working Capital

Our committee is deeply concerned by the small amount of working capital available for meeting the general needs of the Council in case of emergencies. We are therefore determined to devise means whereby such funds can be rapidly increased in the years ahead. We hope to make a substantial addition to such funds by the end of this fiscal year.

A Program of Special Interpretation

Our committee on January 25, 1952, instituted a program of special interpretation whereby it has sought to develop a better understanding of the purpose and program of the Council on the part of those persons in all occupations and professions who can best serve its welfare and interpret it to a larger constituency. We are encouraged by the response to our beginning efforts.

A National Council Observance

We are pleased that the General Board has approved our proposal for a local church observance in the interests of the National Council. We believe that this observance, to be known as "A Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving—For the Ways in Which Our Churches Work Together," to be held on December 7, will accomplish great good as a medium for "grass roots" interpretation of our co-operative enterprise.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

(see page 6 of The Constitution)

Information

1. The first amendment in this article is proposed as a result of negotiations which have been carried on by committees of the Division of Christian Education and the United Student Christian Council looking toward a merger of the United Student Christian Council with the National Council of Churches, to become its Department of Campus Christian Life.

The agreement which has been reached by the negotiating committees calls for the inauguration of a Department of Campus Christian Life, to be known as "The United Student Christian Council" in the Commission on Christian Higher Education of the National Council, which Department will take over and carry forward the life and work of the present separate organization now known by the same name—"United Student Christian Council." Your Committee on Constitution and Bylaws, in another report, recommended Bylaws for this Department for approval by the General Board.

The present United Student Christian Council includes as member agencies various student organizations which would thus be included in the operations of this Department along with the student work agencies of member denominations:

National Student Y. W. C. A.

National Student Council of the Y. M. C. A.

Student Volunteer Movement

The Interseminary Movement

The Lutheran Student Association of America

Student Work Department and Student Movements of the following churches:

American Baptist Convention

Southern Baptist Convention (fraternally)

Disciples of Christ

Evangelical United Brethren

Protestant Episcopal

Methodist

Presbyterian U.S.

Presbyterian U.S.A.

United Student Fellowship (E. & R. and Congregational-Christian Churches)

It is the desire of the student movement to retain the broad fellowship which now exists with nondenominational student agencies. Since such provision has been made in the case of charter agencies of the National Council, it seemed appropriate that the Council provide likewise for such continued representation in the student field.

2. An amendment in Section 3b) is proposed in order to place a definite responsibility with the General Board for determining whether a denomination shall be recognized as being in agreement with the Preamble of the Constitution.

Recommendations

The General Board concurs in the following recommendations made by the Committee on Constitution and Bylaws and recommends them to the General Assembly for adoption:

1. To amend this article by adding a new Section 2c) to read:

"In the case of general agencies not named in the Preamble of this Constitution which may unite with the Council by approval of the General Assembly subsequent to the Constituting Convention, each board or agency which is a member of such uniting general agency at the time of its union with the Council shall be a charter member of that unit of the Council which carries forward the work of the uniting general agency, provided that it accepts such charter membership within six months after the date when the union becomes effective."

2. To amend Section 3b) of this Article by inserting in the last sentence of this section the words "recognized by the General Board as being" thus making this sentence to read:

"No board or agency, except as provided in Article III, Section 2b), of this Constitution, shall be eligible to membership in Divisions, General Departments, Joint Commissions or Joint Departments of the Council unless its communion is recognized by the General Board as being in agreement with the Preamble of the Constitution."

ARTICLE IV—REPRESENTATION

Section 1 (see page 7 of The Constitution)

Information

1. The proposed amendment of this Article to include a new Section 1c) and the proposal to include a Section 3b) in Article IX are in response to a recommendation of the Planning Committee to the first General Assembly and an action taken by that Assembly on November 29, 1950, as follows:

"VOTED that the amendment of the Constitution provide for representation of the General Departments of United Church Men and United Church Women on the General Board by the Chairman and the two representatives of each General Department instead of by the Chairman only be referred to the proposed committee on Constitution and Bylaws for their favorable consideration and that the Committee be asked to consider the matter of more adequate lay representation through other avenues of appointment to the General Board."

The recommendation of the Planning Committee was prepared after it was discovered that the present provisions of the Constitution had not resulted in sufficient appointments of laymen and laywomen who were nationally known and who had skills of special

SPECIAL REPORT

Prepared by:
Church League of America
1407 Hill Avenue
Wheaton, Illinois

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

The following summary-analysis of the United Church Women, a General Department of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., is based entirely and exclusively on their own biennial and triennial reports, their official organ, "The Church Woman", and public statements and releases by U.C.W. and N.C.C.C. officials during the past twenty years. No material adverse to or critical of the United Church Women was consulted.

The National Council of Federated Church Women was founded in Boston in 1929. In 1941 the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation of Womens' Boards of Foreign Missions, and the National Council of Federated Church Women merged to become the United Council of Church Women. In 1950 the U.C.C.W. became a General Department of the National Council of Churches of Christ. (Biennial Report, 1954, page 107)

The announced program was rather ambitious. The new organization was to devote itself to "ecumenical education and fellowship within the states, across the nation, and around the world". Some 300,000 women donated a dollar each in the interest of global ecumenical unity. Of this sum \$20,000 was allocated to the controversial World Council of Churches. It should be recalled that the World Council of Churches at its founding assembly in 1948 in Amsterdam issued a "plague on both your houses statement" when it announced to the world:

"Communist ideology puts the emphasis on economic justice and promises that freedom will come automatically after the completion of the revolution. Capitalism puts the emphasis on freedom and promises that justice will come as a by-product of free enterprise. That, too, is an ideology which has proved false."

Further on in the same pronouncement Christians were admonished as follows:

"The Christian Church should reject the ideologies of both Communism and Capitalism and should seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these extremes are the only alternatives. Each has made promises which it could not redeem."

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The 1952 Workbook of the National Council of Churches of Christ on page 76 states:

"In addition to the sponsorship of the three days, the Department (United Church Women) carries on a continuing program in the areas of better race relations, world missions, world peace, Christian social relations, Christian citizenship, child care, and family life."

"United Church Women came into being through the efforts of an inter-racial group. As a Department it will never be satisfied until every barrier that separates people because of race or color has been removed."

In addition to "better race relations", that is to say, total integration in every strata of American society and life, the United Church Women are also committed to the following program:

"We will re-examine the interracial practices of our organization and our program.

We will appraise all meetings sponsored by United Church Women, local, state, and national, in regard to representative attendance, program participation, planning, choice of speakers, rotation of churches.

We will examine personnel of boards and committees, choice of officers, delegations to conferences and choice of community projects.

As individual members of councils we pledge ourselves to undertake the following disciplines. I will be guided in my everyday attitudes and actions by my belief that all persons are children of God. I will work against all forms of discrimination. I will act when another's rights are threatened. I will endeavor to interpret to my own church the implications of human rights, especially as they apply to the inclusion of all Christians in its life and program. I will strive for the integration of all Christian women, irrespective of race, in all phases of the work of my local council."

SECULAR PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

As far back as 1937 the Church Woman, dutifully echoing the policies of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, was already busily concerned over Reciprocal Trade Agreements, social hygiene, migratory labor, anti-lynching legislation, and international relations. The Christmas Appeal for that year was for the war sufferers of China and Spain and the Christian refugees from Nazi Germany. There curiously enough was not a word about the persecution and destruction of the Christian Church in Russia. Nor a word of Christian compassion for the millions of persecuted

Christian victims of atheistic Communism. This seems more than passing strange for an organization of Christian women allegedly devoted to advancing world peace, fellowship, ecumenicity, justice, freedom, etc. etc.

Particularly so, when this report was composed during the Korean War when several hundred thousand American boys were locked in deadly combat with the Communists. One is compelled to re-read this 1952 Report several times with amazement and disbelief to make sure that his eyes have not deceived him. There were seminars and institutes to train speakers in behalf of the United Nations. There was study of "basic convictions and belief." Women from other countries were brought to the United States in an United Church Women's "Exchange of Persons" Program. UNICEF received some help and UNESCO "gift coupons" were provided for.

The legislative program called for opposition to Universal Military training, the Bricker Amendment, and appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. No objection was raised to sending an ambassador to Moscow, the citadel of world atheistic Communism! The United Church Women, or at least their official spokesmen and hired professional staff, also wanted our present immigration laws revised and liberalized. Federal aid to education and F.E.P.C. were also high on the agenda of the U.C.W.

There were also all sorts of projects, conferences, and programs for "world peace" but nothing concrete or realistic as to what American Church women could do to help our fighting forces in Korea. Not a word.. There were also endless schools, seminars, meetings, and conferences for "intensive training for leadership" including the training of "leaders of leaders" and something called the "National Training Institute for state chairman of Interpretation" -- whatever that meant! But one searches in vain for even an empty platitude on what church women could do at community, state, and national level to expose and combat Communism and its subversive party line carried out by dupes, fellow travelers, and fools. Not a sentence -- not a word.

In this respect the United Church Women shows no discernible deviation from the long established policy of the Federal Council of Churches and its present day successor, the National Council of Churches. Neither organization ever permitted any really serious attacks upon or criticism of Soviet Russia or world Communism to appear in its official pronouncements or publications.

The 1954 biennial report of the U.C.W. was largely a re-write of the previous 1952 report brought up to date. The organization's three special prayer days: World Day of Prayer, May Fellowship Day, and World Community Day, are heavily played up as of supreme worth and importance.

In addition to raising money for foreign missions, libraries in India, and similar projects, the World Day of Prayer each year sponsors programs of "Christian World Relations and Christian Social Relations." The 1954 report defines Christian Social Relations as seeking "to understand and accept our responsibilities as Christian citizens, to study the social and economic causes of human need and to act to alleviate the causes of misery and injustice in contemporary American life."

"The Christian Social Relations Committee concerns itself with human relations and social problems and their causes as they affect local communities and national life. The Committee works in the following areas:

Children and Youth - Christian family life.
Economic and industrial relations.
Race relations and Civil Liberties."

(emphasis in the original)

This, needless to point out, is the social gospel in action or social action disguised rather thinly as "religious" activity. Indeed, the very next paragraph brashly admits:

"A scrutiny of current national legislation is maintained in order that church women may be informed on all pertinent legislation. Recommendations are made to state and local councils when local action is needed to influence public opinion."

Such legislative scrutiny and action "to influence public opinion" is clearly in

violation of Internal Revenue Statutes granting tax exemption to religious, charitable, scientific, and educational organizations.

Again at the risk of repetition, the United Church Women who are so deeply concerned over human misery, civil liberties, race relations, migrant labor, injustice, and the "social and economic causes of human need" apparently remain happily and totally oblivious of the single greatest threat to Christianity and western civilization since the incursion of the Mongols into eastern Europe - World Communism. For women seeking to alleviate human misery and injustice "throughout the world" one is at a loss to explain why they do not start with that vast prison house of nations, the Soviet empire.

At the very time that this U.C.W. report was being prepared America had suffered 150,000 casualties in protecting South Korea against Communist invasion and terror. But not even a casual reference to America's sacrifice of human life in the Korean war was permitted to slip into the 1954 report. Not a word! And at the same time that this platitudinous and spiritually empty report was being written extolling the false will-o'-the wisp of ecumenicity, Chinese Christians were being exterminated by the tens of thousands by the Chinese Reds. But, you will not find a word in this report on the destruction of the Christian Church in China by atheist Communists. Not a word!

Those Christian women who belong to or support the United Church Women should reflect deeply on the following and then ask their officials and leaders for an explanation. When the Japanese invaded China in 1937 the predecessor of the present U.C.W. collected funds and clothing for the relief of the poor Chinese. When the Chinese Communists massacred an estimated ten to fifteen million Chinese between 1948 and 1953, even broadcasting the executions over the radio, not a word of Christian compassion or moral protest emanated from the headquarters of the N.C.C.C. or its General Department of the United Church Women. Why?

If the United Church Women are not interested in or concerned about the suffering and death of millions of Chinese, it would seem that they might possibly be moved by atrocities against their own sons in Korea. Five to six thousand American boys were brutally murdered with their hands tied behind their backs by their Chinese and North Korean Communist captors. The evidence was amply and extensively documented before Congressional committees complete with eye witness survivor testimony. Here again one searches in vain through several pages of empty platitudes and pious declarations of lofty principles without finding a sentence or even a word of moral condemnation. Not a word.

There is the usual left-liberal, fake concern over "threats to American freedom", but not a word about the threat of world communism or subversion here at home. Not a word. Instead we get opposition to Universal Military Training, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, Bricker Amendment, and other strictly secular matters of absolutely no concern to any bona fide religious organization.

There is also the characteristic blind adulation of the United Nations "and its specialized agencies" amounting to fetishism. In this superstitious veneration of the United Nations the United Church Women are merely following the obsession of its parent organization, the N.C.C.C.

THE 1957 TRIENNIAL REPORT

Page 169 of the 1957 Report of the General Department of United Church Women admits that:

"The program of the United Church Women is the program of the National Council of Churches, adapted to specific needs, significant contributions and abilities of women."

So important is this adherence to the official line laid down by the N.C.C.C. hierarchs and grand lamas that a special position of "program co-ordinator" was created in 1956. This co-ordinator will see to it that the "program of the United Church Women is more closely related to the program of the National Council of Churches".

The co-ordinator will also seek "to discover in the programs of the World Council of Churches what is pertinent for women working unitedly in the United States."

The same 1957 report, page 170, announces happily that the notorious Fund for the Republic had made a grant of \$10,000 to the United Church Women for "educational work in race relations." A year later the United Church Women received another \$20,000 from the Fund for the Republic for workshops which would help church women on the question of "How to Deal With Controversy". The controversy, no doubt, having been the natural result of the racial incitation provocations of "racial tensions experts" in the first place. Approximately thirty of these "workshops" were set up, many of them in the South. The report disingenuously comments: "For the most part the reactions of the participants have been favorable and gratifying."

The United Church Women continue each year to observe World Community Day as a "culmination of months of study in some area of international relations and as a tangible expression of the concern of church women for the unmet material needs of the peoples in various areas of the world as well as for the program for peace of the United Church Women." The U.C.W. report unfortunately does not go into any details as to just how American church women propose to bring "Bread, Freedom and Dignity" to some 800,000,000 human beings behind the Iron Curtain. Assuming, of course, that the United Church Women include them in their prayers and efforts as part of their "World Community."

The crushing of the heroic Hungarian uprising for freedom in a sea of blood by Soviet machine guns and heavy tanks is casually alluded to as the "Hungarian Crisis." Nothing more. Not a word of Christian outrage at the massacre of unarmed Hungarian women and children by atheistic Communists. The Hungarians inferentially were outside the World Christian Community about which the N.C.C.C. and its satellite the United Church Women are constantly and piously prating. The atrocities of the Hungarian Secret Police leave the United Church Women cold and

unimpressed even after an official U.N. investigation and condemnation. Contrast this strange insensibility to human suffering and death in Hungary with the following:

"During the past three years an unprecedented climate of fear in the United States has resulted in the increasing success of many pressures to conform. Fear has been exploited to the point of intimidation, and the customary diversity of thought and expression on the part of individuals and groups so discouraged that basic rights and freedoms have been endangered. Confusion as to what is truth and what is propaganda as well as the variety and complexity of the methods used, has made it almost impossible for the average person to realize what has been happening. New techniques that play upon fear and prejudice and use what are sometimes called 'trigger words' have affected north and south alike.

Within the framework of these tensions United Church Women have endeavored to carry on a Christian Social Relations program which would be both creative and dynamic. Through a constant supply of information, the aim has been to create understanding of the prevailing setting with its curbs on liberty, civil rights, and free speech and to help women act unitedly in their communities."

Such total anaesthesia to Communist mass murders and atrocities, including those against American boys on one hand and then hyper-sensitive concern over fraudulent and non-existent "threats to American freedoms" on the other, are the infallible stigmata of the concealed secret Communist or secret pro-Soviet sympathizer as any former Communist or expert on subversion will testify.

THE CHURCH WOMAN

An examination of The Church Woman for the years 1938 to 1944, the only years available to our research department, shows a striking predilection for Communist front writers and speakers, or those with long established records of ultra liberalism. The following easily recognizable names either addressed Council conferences and seminars, contributed articles to "The Church Woman" or had their literary products boosted in that magazine:

Louis Adamic
Mary McLeod Bethune
Pearl Buck
Ralph Bunche
Edward C. Carter

George A. Coe
Mark Dawber
Vera Micheles Dean
Samuel Guy Inman
Charles S. Johnson

Horace Kallen
Henry Smith Leiper
Eduard C. Lindeman
Kirtley Mather

Dorothy McConnell
Robert Speer
Mrs. Stepen Wise
Mary Woolley

The Rev. John A. Mackay, whose pro-Soviet, pro-Communist front record fills nearly two pages in the Circuit Riders compilation, "614 Presbyterian Clergymen", was a perennial favorite speaker at Council Meetings.

A Mrs. J. N. McEachern of Atlanta in the Feb. 1939 issue of The Church Woman enthusiastically reported the founding at Birmingham of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE. This outfit was later exposed by Congressional investigating committees as the most ambitious and important Communist front ever set up in the South.

It is noteworthy that in the years prior to World War II pacifist pamphlets and those published by the Foreign Policy Association received liberal free advertising in The Church Woman. At the outbreak of the war when thousands of patriotic American boys flocked to the colors, the United Council of Church Women was quick to throw its nationwide support behind the Civilian Public Service Corps, a slacker device set up by pacifist groups to enable able-bodied youth to avoid combat duty by volunteering for home guard duty at various camps in this country.

SUMMARY

The above cited references to N.C.C.C. and United Church Women official reports can leave no doubt whatever that the latter is merely a docile and captive adjunct to the former. There is even a "co-ordinator" to make sure that the U.C.W. carry out N.C.C.C. policies and directives. The history of the National Council at this late time hardly requires elaboration, as there is available ample sources of information such as Collectivism In The Churches, Servants of Apostasy, the files of the Christian Beacon and News and Views, to mention only a few.

ADDENDUM TO U.C.W. SUMMARY

The National Council of Churches of Christ has established a long public and irrefutable record of ultra-modernism in theology, of gratuitous and often ill-advised and badly informed meddling in purely social, economic, and political questions of absolutely no legitimate concern to a religious denomination or federation of religious denominations and finally of carrying out and vastly extending the pacifist, defeatist, and unpatriotic line of policy and activities which it inherited from the notorious Federal Council of Churches of Christ.

The Christian women who support and make up the captive membership of the United Church Women are not only saddled with this odious record of the N.C.C.C. but also make it possible for the Communist infiltrated and influenced World Council of Churches to issue anti-American and pro-Soviet manifestoes in the name of hundreds of thousands of American women who are affiliated with the N.C.C.C. as a "General Department".

The long range strategical objective of the N.C.C.C. is now quite clear and defined. It is to set up a rigidly controlled "World Church" of as many Protestant and Orthodox Christian communions as it can hornswoggle or inveigle into affiliation. The long range planners of One World obviously cannot leave the field of religion and conscience outside of their grandiose super-state--hence the World Council of Churches and its strong right arm, the National Council of Churches.

The Southern Baptist Convention steadfastly refused to join the N.C.C.C. because the very concept and announced policies of the N.C.C.C. are directly contrary to all Baptist principles and teaching. Supporting at state or community level any organization which your church declines to support at national level is obviously betraying and undermining your own church. All Christian faiths are under relentless and continuous onslaught by secret pro-Communist, pro-Socialist, One-World infiltrators. Now is the time for every true Christian and true Baptist to be on guard against such insidious and often well-disguised infiltration methods.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE
6-7-60

Anti-Soviet Group Loses Church Plea Court Bars Control Of Cathedral Here

6/7/60
Clergy appointed by Moscow
will retain control of the
onion-domed St. Nicholas Russian
Orthodox Cathedral at 15
E. 97th St. under the terms of
a United States Supreme Court
decision handed down yesterday
in Washington.

For the second time, the Supreme Court overturned a decision by the New York State Court of Appeals awarding control of the fifty-seven-year-old building to the anti-Soviet Metropolitanate of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America.

The present legal battle began in 1945, when the anti-Soviet group began a lawsuit contending that the New York Religious Corporations Law conferred on it the right to use the cathedral. The Court of Appeals agreed, but the Supreme Court held that portion of the law unconstitutional in 1952 as an untenable interference in what was "strictly a matter of ecclesiastical government."

Case Was Returned

The Supreme Court returned the case to the Court of Appeals, which ordered a retrial without reference to the invalidated religious corporations law. In December, 1959, the Court of Appeals again ruled, 4 to 3, for the group independent of the Moscow hierarchy—and declared that American courts must prevent seizure of church properties by agents of a foreign state.

Yesterday, however, the Supreme Court rejected this view and held, citing its 1952 decision, that a state could not interfere in a matter of purely canon law.

Ralph M. Arkush, a lawyer for the anti-Moscow metropolitanate, said yesterday that the case would probably be reopened "in view of new evidence" obtained since the second trial. He did not say what the evidence was.

The dispute between pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet churchmen dates back to the 1920's, when the former group won control. Reconciliation appeared possible briefly, toward the end of World War II, but the battle broke out again in 1945 when the anti-Soviet faction became convinced that the Moscow-centered group was clearly under Kremlin control.

Ruling Is Quoted

In retrial after the 1952 Supreme Court decision, the New York courts found that the Moscow-oriented group was a duly constituted church government. The Appellate Division upheld the trial court, but the Court of Appeals reversed and ruled for the independent metropolitanate. It said then:

"The record is replete with instances of political diatribes issued by the (pro-Soviet) patriarchate in furtherance of the interests of the Soviet state."

It added that the pro-Soviet faction could legally have an archbishop in New York for those who wished to acknowledge him. But, the court said, a Moscow appointee could not have the right to control the cathedral property.

St. Nicholas' has been in the hands of the Most Rev. Boris Vik, archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic archdiocese of North America and the Aleutian Islands.

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SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Kreshik v. Saint Nicholas Cathedral

On Petition For Writ Of Certiorari to
the Court Of Appeals of New York

No. 824. Decided June 6, 1960

PER CURIAM.

The motion for leave to proceed upon the record in No. 3, C. T. 1952, and the petition for certiorari, are granted.

In a prior decision in this litigation, we held that the right conferred under canon law upon the Archbishop of the North American Archdiocese of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church, as the appointee of the Patriarch of Moscow, to the use and occupancy of the St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York City, owned by respondent corporation, was "strictly a matter of ecclesiastical government," and as such could not constitutionally be impaired by a state statute. New York Religious Corporations Law, Art. 5-C, purporting to bestow that right on another. *Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral*, 344 U.S. 94. We reversed a judgment of the New York Court of Appeals against the petitioners' predecessors in office, and remanded the case for "further action. . . not in contravention" of our opinion. *Id.*, at 121.

The Court of Appeals ordered a retrial of the question of petitioners' right to use and occupancy, on a common-law issue assertedly left open by our invalidation of the statutory basis for the former decision. 306 N.Y. 38. After trial, the Court of Appeals directed the entry of judgment against petitioners, holding that, by reason of the domination - so found by that court to be the fact - of the Patriarch by the secular authority in the U.S.S.R., his appointee could not under the common law of New York validly exercise the right to occupy the Cathedral. 7 N.Y. 2d. 191. 1538

As the opinions of the Court of Appeals make evident, compare 302 N.Y. at 29-33, with 7 N.Y. 2d. at 209-216, the decision now under review rests on the same premises which were found to have underlain the enactment of the statute struck down in *Kedroff*, 344 U.S. at 117-118. But it is established doctrine that "(i)t is not of moment that the State has here acted solely through its judicial branch, for whether legislative or judicial, it is still the application of state power which we are asked to scrutinize." *N.A.A.C.P. v. Alabama*, 357 U.S. 449, 463. See *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1, 14-16, and cases there cited. Accordingly, our ruling in *Kedroff* is controlling here, and requires dismissal of the complaint.

Reversed.

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SUPREME COURT CLEARS WAY FOR COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF
RUSSIAN CHURCHES IN AMERICA

Of all the aid and comfort given to communists by agencies of the federal government, none is more fundamental than what may follow the action of the Supreme Court of the United States on June 6, 1960, in the case of Kreshik v. St. Nicholas Cathedral. Its order involved the right to the use and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral on 97th Street in New York by the appointee of the Patriarch of Moscow as against use and occupancy by a corporation formed in the State of New York under the New York Religious Corporation Law by members of that Church. The order also may involve much more because there are 367 other churches under the Russian Orthodox Catholic Church, of which St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York is the cornerstone. As the Cathedral goes, so will go the others. Although distributed generally throughout the United States, Canada, and Alaska, these other Russian churches are for the most part located in strategic industrial centers.

In a prior decision, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the right conferred under canon law upon the archbishops of the North American Archdiocese of this Church to the use and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York was "strictly a matter of ecclesiastical government" and as such could not constitutionally be impaired by state statute. Thus in the case of Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral, 344 U.S. 94, a judgment of the New York Court of Appeals against the petitioners' predecessors in office and granting the use and occupancy of the Cathedral to Americans, was remanded for further action.

Pursuant to this earlier order of the U.S. Supreme Court, the New York Court of Appeals ordered a retrial of the question of the petitioners' right to use and occupancy on a common-law issue assertedly left open by the Supreme Court's invalidation of the statutory basis of the former decision. After trial, the New York Court of Appeals held that the Patriarch of Moscow, dominated by secular authority of the U.S.S.R., could not under the common law of New York validly exercise the right to occupy the Cathedral. 7 N. Y. 2d. 191.

In what appears like a summary order issued without argument or briefs, the Supreme Court, on June 6, rejected and perhaps ignored the action in New York, and apparently went out of its way to administer a rebuke to the highest court of the State of New York. Neither the order, the procedure, nor anything else indicated that the U. S. Supreme Court had taken into consideration the new record in the case as built up on the common-law issue since the retrial.

If this leaves you confused and in doubt, you are not alone. There is much more to the legalistic and technical aspects of the case. However, the above is sufficient to give some hint as to the ridiculous extent to which legalistic hairsplitting has been carried, and, so far as the Supreme Court is concerned, with no evident consideration of the main facts or the true interests of the people of the United States.

WHAT IS AT STAKE?

The proceedings and litigation here involved have been carried on almost continuously for more than 36 years. That being the case, they must involve something important. They do. This is access by the Kremlin to a made-to-order mechanism by which it can develop a basic moral and spiritual apparatus for continued infiltration, undermining, and control of the constitutional republic of the United States through church channels in parallel with its efforts through political parties, government, education, etc.

The Patriarch of Moscow is named by the Kremlin. This provides a titular head of the Church who is not a free agent. Appointment of representatives by this Patriarch, whether they are bishops or something else, also provides agents who cannot be free agents. What is really at issue in these proceedings is whether the way shall be opened legally and permanently for use of 367 Russian Orthodox Churches in America as instruments of the policy of a foreign state which proclaims its intentions to destroy the United States. From this it follows that it also involves establishing a legal basis for the appointment of Moscow agents to use and occupy the

367 churches, regardless of the wishes of the members of the churches or the American corporations holding title to the church property in those cases where such corporations exist. The Supreme Court recognizes the right of the local religious corporation in the New York case to hold title to the church property. But it denies the owning corporation jurisdiction over the use and occupancy of the property, and leaves it to agents appointed by the Patriarch of Moscow under the direction of the Kremlin. The technical question at issue, therefore, is purely one of jurisdiction over these properties and particularly from the standpoint of use and occupancy. The Supreme Court in effect has assumed the right to determine this question.

Canonical Law

In its prior decision, the Supreme Court held that the question was "strictly a matter of ecclesiastical government," and it made much of canonical law. However, in the recent decision, it seems to have contrived carefully to ignore the canonical law applicable in the case.

The record shows that the Russian churches held a convention in Detroit in 1924 and voted themselves independent of Moscow. The vote was almost unanimous. Those in attendance consisted of both clergy and laymen. They acted on an order from the then Patriarch of Moscow who directed the American churches to establish themselves as independent until order could be restored in Russia. The vote of the Detroit convention was in accordance with this order, but was conditional in the sense that the policy adopted was to continue "until such time as the Patriarch in Moscow shall be a free agent."

Thus we have a position in which the New York courts and particularly the Court of Appeals take due notice of the record as to the canonical law, but the U.S. Supreme Court now ignores it in favor of Moscow. Some reference has been made to a schismatic situation, but this is without factual basis. There is none because, so far as the Russian Orthodox Church in the United States is concerned, there has been no change in polity, liturgy, general administration, or anything else of importance.

How Ridiculous

It probably would be difficult to find many instances as ridiculous as this 36 years of legalistic hairsplitting, maneuvered and made necessary by New York attorneys for the communists, to circumvent very sound and consistent reasoning by the Court of Appeals of New York. That this could be carried on more or less under cover for so long and without general public realization, provides further evidence that much is going on behind the scenes. In retrospect it must be said that it certainly is unfortunate that the designers of our constitutional republic did not include some measures which might prove more of a basis for the defense and protection of the United States from legalistic hairsplitters within its own population.

The main question now is whether these 367 Russian church parishes and the cathedral in New York are to be thrown to the wolves of the Soviet and added to the terroristic machine of the Kremlin, or some way is to be found to protect them and leave them in the hands of their own members who are citizens of the United States or Canada.

One cannot help wondering how much longer the Supreme Court of the United States is to be permitted to get away with such abuse of power and such exercise of legislative functions in the interests of the Kremlin!

Here is what Colonel Ulius Amoss reports from a specialist on Soviet affairs in London regarding the communist control of the Russian Orthodox Church:

"The Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union is no longer the Russian Orthodox Church.

"It is the Soviet Orthodox Church; that is why congregations and parishes outside the grasp of the Communist Secret Police formed religious corporations under the laws of the countries in which they were established to hold - not only the property - but the faith.

"The Soviet Orthodox clergy retains all the paraphernalia - beards, hats, robes, chains, crosses, etc. - profusely worn by Soviet 'Orthodox'

church 'dignitaries' pretending to the high, but deceitful ranks of Archimandrites, Bishops, Metropolitans and Patriarchs.

"Robe, beard and episcopal crown - all - are a grotesque camouflage used by Soviet State officials directly controlled by the Ministry of the Interior and its Secret Police.

"Soviet Orthodox administration - no matter whether the official wears beard and robe - is a Communist State Administration, no different in quality and authority than, say, the Chief Directorate of the Northern Sea Route or the State Planning Committee.

"It must be held firmly in mind that the Soviet Orthodox Church is entirely, utterly, and absolutely at the service of the Soviet Government and will execute and follow every directive received from the Communist Party through the Soviet Government.

"There is no comparison with any church prelate or priest in the West. The nearest you have is the 'red Dean' of Canterbury and some other foolish priests who willingly or inadvertently follow the Soviet line. In the U.S.S.R. there is no church freedom...All must toe the Communist line without exception though, under State Supervision, they may cover Communist concepts with 'Christian' formulae.

"It is an extraordinary situation, in which the Soviet Government is being handed an executive power over the Orthodox Church in the United States - and what a coincidence that the power to establish subversive espionage and sabotage centers inside religious institutions is given your sworn enemies at the precise moment when the same Soviet Government leads a furious anti-American policy and propaganda.

"How is it possible that such a powerful tool of subversion and espionage should be handed free to Moscow at this most critical moment? Who is interested in such a suicidal act? What are Americans - lemmings, rushing madly to their own self-destruction?"

Biennial Report

1954

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Report of the Central Department of Field Administration

THIS department has assisted the churches in states and local communities to strengthen their co-operative work. It has also shared with all the program units of the Council in co-ordinating and projecting field programs in line with its understanding of the needs in the field.

Field Outreach Policy

The department has approved for experimental use the following tentative statement on Field Outreach Policy:

The program plans and staff resources of the National Council of Churches and its several units reach the field through two recognized channels of approach—denominational and interdenominational. There is a well established field outreach policy through denominational channels for denominational work. The co-operative program of the denominations through the General Board of the National Council of Churches should reach local congregations not only through the regular national denominational channels but also through the co-operative work of the denominations at the state and local levels.

Within the interdenominational channels there may be confusion of relationship if the National Council (or its units) approaches a local council of churches without taking into account the state council of churches. This practice can make interdenominational field relationships difficult at the state level. The state council of churches must increasingly be the responsible agent of the member communions for conducting their co-operative work in a given state. The National Council recognizes this fact and desires to shape its field operations in conformity with it. At the same time, local councils of churches are the responsible agents of their member congregations for conducting their co-operative work. This fact the National Council also recognizes as valid. It therefore seeks to shape its field operations in such a way as to provide effective service at both state and local levels as the needs require.

The problems arising from this situation, while a matter of deep concern, are by no means insoluble as experience has amply demonstrated. The key to their solution is a flexible field outreach policy which recognizes the interrelatedness of the national, state, and local interdenominational enterprise.

The interdenominational field outreach policy of the National Council consists of five parts as follows:

1. *Field program service to state councils of churches*
Field program plans and projects which are de-

signed to reach the churches of a given state in areas broader than that of a local council of churches shall be presented to the state council of churches by the National Council or one of its units for its consideration and action. The development and implementation of such planning shall be in co-operation with the state council.

2. *Field program service to local councils of churches*
Field program plans and projects which are designed to serve the congregations constituent to a given local council of churches shall be presented to the local council by the National Council or one of its units for its consideration and action. Copies of National Council correspondence shall be sent to the appropriate state council executive for information and collaboration.
3. *Field Program Service to Other Areas*
In states with no state council of churches, the field program planning and projects shall be presented to whatever recognized state interdenominational organization exists. If there is no such organization, the National Council representative shall convene representatives of state denominational bodies, to whom the presentation shall be made for their consideration and action.
In regions within a state which are wider than the area served by a local council of churches, the National Council should help the state council in convening a conference of denominational bodies to whom program plans shall be presented for their consideration and action.
4. *Requests for Field Service*
Requests for field service from a state or local council may be addressed to any unit of the National Council. The National Council unit involved shall make direct response to such request for field service. When requests are received from local churches, they may be answered directly and a carbon copy of the National Council's reply sent to the appropriate state council office or they should be acknowledged and may be referred to the state council executive.
5. *Establishment of Offices of National Council Units*
Offices of the National Council units should be established only after consultation with the council of the state and city in which the proposed office would be located.

There are certain areas of operation involving councils of churches and councils of church women that are not touched upon in this document. Additional

statements may need to be developed to cover these operations.

State Organizations

During this biennium the state councils of churches in Georgia and Texas were organized and launched with full-time executive leadership. Encouraging progress has been made in the development of a tentative constitution for the Arkansas Council of Churches. Five state denominational bodies have approved the plan and it is expected that the new council will be constituted early in the new triennium 1955-1957.

At present there are

- 40 states which have a state council of churches (also one in Puerto Rico)
- 38 of which have paid leadership
- 8 states which have no state council of churches Alabama, Arkansas, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming
- 48 states which have a state council of church women (also one in Hawaii)

Local Developments

The pattern of co-operation in city, county, and local councils becomes more and more like that of the National Council, that is, parallel co-operative efforts of the churches become more and more integrated into a comprehensive council usually called "council of churches." During the biennium a number of voluntary county and local councils of religious education and Sunday school associations, as well as councils of churches, have been discontinued. One significant growth is represented by two new state councils and twelve city and local councils with paid executive leadership. At present there are

- 209 local councils of churches, councils of religious education, etc., with paid leadership
- 692 local councils of churches, councils of religious education, etc., with voluntary leadership

The combined state, city, and local councils now include:

- 249 state and local councils with paid executive leadership
- 694 state and local councils with voluntary leadership
- 943 state and local councils with paid and voluntary leadership

In addition there are:

- 1961 state, city, and local councils of United Church Women
- 95 state, city, and local organized United Church Men's units
- 2045 ministerial associations.

Offices: The Central Office and the Office for Financial Counseling are at 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., and the Midwest Office is at 79 East Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois. There is a Southeastern Regional Office in Atlanta and until June 30, 1954, there was a Southwestern Regional Office in Fort Worth, Texas.

Midwestern Office

Central Services: The Midwestern Office, under the direction of the associate executive director, shares in the guidance of the total field administration activities and in counseling with state and city councils in regard to personnel, program development and study of organization and function. He also carries responsibility for program promotion and maintaining of permanent files and records for the Association of Council Secretaries' annual meetings.

Field Counseling Literature: The department decided, instead of revising pamphlet 2 in the Church Co-operation Series, "How to Organize a Local Council of Churches," to develop a Field Guidance Manual. Under the chairmanship of Willis Ford, a small committee is preparing a twenty-two chapter manual. Seventeen persons have contributed to the various chapters. Chapter V, "Philosophy of a Council of Churches" and chapter VIII, "Sample Constitutions for a Council of Churches" (in large cities, in small cities and in states) have been distributed for experimental use.

Christian Education: The associate executive director and his administrative assistant, Margaret Lawson, also serve the Division of Christian Education. Miss Lawson carries major responsibilities for physical arrangements for the Division's annual and fall meetings as well as developing responsibilities for scheduling staff services and to the Educational Field Services Committee.

Under the leadership of the Division's Educational Field Services Committee a conference was held and in consultation with the various committees of the Commission on General Christian Education a plan for co-ordination and more systematic scheduling of field program activities of the Commission has been devised. The Educational Field Services Committee is also counseling with the staff of the Commission on a plan and procedure for scheduling staff services to denominations and state and city councils.

Southeastern and Southwestern Regional Offices

These regional offices have assisted in the development of councils of churches during this period in Tennessee, Georgia, Texas, and Arkansas; and in the cities of Austin, Dallas, the Rio Grande Valley near Brownsville, Houston, Wichita Falls, and Fort Worth.

The southwestern executive director, Harry C. Munro, was called to the executive leadership of the Fort Worth Council of Churches in 1954. Since the Texas Council of Churches has now been established, the southwestern office was closed June 30, 1954, with the understanding that the responsibility for the remaining unorganized states would be related to the former southeastern area, probably resulting in a newly combined southern regional office.

The executive director of the southeastern regional office, Rev. Ernest J. Arnold, resigned April 1, 1954, in order to devote full time to the Protestant Radio Center in Atlanta. Pending the filling of the vacancy, Ernest Arnold has continued to give counsel to the

work of the office, centering in assistance to councils, interpretation of the National Council, and promotion of the Protestant Radio Center.

The Advisory Committee of these two offices express sincere appreciation for the executive leadership of Ernest J. Arnold and Harry C. Munro.

Field Service Itinerary Schedules

The Field Service Itinerary Schedules were issued quarterly. These schedules list the dates, places, and types of meetings in which the National Council staff members participate during each quarter. They were made available to executives of councils of churches and to the National Council executive staff.

Centralized Calendar Service

The Centralized Calendar Service lists dates for major program events of the National Council units; also those of other interdenominational agencies and constituent communions and boards.

This service was made available to executives of councils of churches, National Council staff, to interdenominational and denominational executives, and to the press.

Financial Counseling

The constant backlog of requests from councils of churches for field visits by the director of financial counseling is evidence of the need and use being made of this service. One hundred and sixty-two different councils have been visited at least once during the biennium including a series of three to twenty-four visits to eight state and twenty city and county councils.

The constituent members of the city, county, and state councils are contributing the largest single percentage of their total income according to the survey made of 1953 income. The five sources with the largest percentage in each category are for the *forty state councils* (denominational budgets 24.4 per cent, individuals 23.7 per cent, program fees 10.5 per cent, local church budgets 8.3 per cent, and United Church Women 5.3 per cent; *two hundred and one city and county councils with paid leadership* (local church budgets 28.1 per cent, individuals 27.1 per cent, community chests 8.2 per cent—designated for social, health and welfare work—offerings 6.8 per cent, and program fees 6.3 per cent; *six hundred and eighty-nine councils with voluntary leadership* (local church budgets 47.8 per cent, offerings 26.6 per cent, program fees 7.0 per cent, local church organizations 5.6 per cent, and individuals 4.3 per cent.

The \$7,161,292 total income for 1953 of the 930 councils was an increase of \$1,059,460 over that reported for 1952 when the first income survey was made. Twenty sources of income are listed in the tabulation with a multitude of minor sources lumped together under miscellaneous heading which comprises 8.2 per cent of the total income.

Of the \$7,161,292 total income for 1953, 60 per cent (\$4,288,297) is received by the 201 city and county councils with paid leadership; 29 per cent (\$2,097,233)

by the 40 state councils with paid leadership; and the remaining 11 per cent by the 689 councils with voluntary leadership.

Thirty-seven different titles are used by the 919 cooperative agencies in the city, county and state areas in the *Yearbook of American Churches for 1955*. Council of churches is used 640 times (70 per cent) followed by council of religious education 91 (10 per cent), interchurch council 52 (6 per cent), council of Christian education 30 (3 per cent), seventeen titles used two to twelve times each, and sixteen titles used only once.

Two financial counseling workshops have been held, each of two days duration: one in Indianapolis for council leaders in a three-state area with fifty-one attending and the other for fourteen state council executives at Conference Point Camp, Lake Geneva. Workshops similar to the latter are planned in successive years previous to the Association of Council Secretaries' annual meeting for executives in smaller, medium, large, and metropolitan population centers.

Calls from councils for field visitation and counseling have been so heavy that only the following literature has been prepared: *Financial Counseling #1; Financing our Council of Churches; Financial Counseling #2, 1952 Income and Financial Data Tabulation; Financial Counseling #3, 1953 Income and Financial Data Tabulation; Financial Counseling #4, 1953 State Council Income from Denominational Budgets*; and a chapter in the forthcoming Field Guidance Manual, *Principles and Procedures for Financing our Council of Churches*.

During the biennium, the emphasis of financial counseling has been upon the practical aid of helping councils to initiate basic foundation steps from where they are financially today toward where they wish to be in ten years. The response has been overwhelming at times but gratifying because of the service that can be rendered.

Leadership Preparation

The Association of Council Secretaries meets annually at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, the third week in June. Walter G. Muelder was the lecturer in 1953 and F. Ernest Johnson in 1954. Special orientation sessions were conducted for newer secretaries each year and special workshops were provided for state executives in metropolitan cities, large cities, medium-sized cities and small communities. In 1955 approximately 100 council presidents have been invited to join the council executives for a consideration of the theme: "Christian Unity—Its Relevance in the Community."

Program Planning Conferences

Program Planning Conferences of from one to three days duration have been held during the biennium in Northern California, Southern California, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia; and in the cities of Dayton, Evansville (Ind.), Topeka, Wichita. Wide usage has been made of the *Criteria for Self Evaluation and*

Measurement in these conferences as well as throughout the council movement.

Personnel Services

✓ The department has assisted personnel committees in filling staff vacancies in the following states and cities during the biennium: Colorado, Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, South Dakota, Texas, West Virginia; Albany, Bay City, Bronx, Dayton, Denver, Des Moines, Flint, Fort Worth, Houston, New York city, Omaha, Peoria, Pittsburgh, Portland (Oregon), Saint Paul, San Antonio, South Bend, Spokane, Springfield, Tacoma, Topeka, Wichita, Wilmington, Worcester, Yonkers.

Curriculum Study

A questionnaire study was made of the curricular provisions for the preparation of leaders in ecumenical administration now provided by theological seminaries. This study shows a wide coverage of the historical Faith and Order and the world aspects of the ecumenical movement and the meager attention to the practical field.

The work of this department has been greatly strengthened by the General Board's adoption of the statement on "Strengthening Co-operation in States and Local Communities" and the supporting actions thereupon now under consideration by the thirty member denominations of the Council.

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF FIELD ADMINISTRATION

THE OFFICERS

Rev. Glenn W. Moore, *chairman*
Rev. Willis R. Ford, *vice-chairman*
Mrs. Fred H. White, *secretary*

THE STAFF

Rev. J. Quinter Miller, *executive director*
Rev. John B. Ketcham, *associate executive director*
(*Midwest Office*)
W. P. Buckwalter, Jr., *director of financial counseling*
Theresa Capell, *administrative secretary*

**National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America**

Statement of Income and Expenses

**For The Years Ended December 31, 1952 and 1953
and Period Ended September 30, 1954**

	° 1953	° 1952	9 Months Ending September 30, 1954
INCOME:			
Contributions—			
Denominational bodies, boards, churches	\$ 2,670,018.88	\$ 3,055,761.78	\$ 2,071,508.24
Councils of Churches & other organizations	400,374.28	2,818,083.19	1,960,079.02
Individuals, corporations, and foundations	1,841,127.12	———	———
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$ 4,911,520.28	\$ 5,873,844.97	\$ 4,031,587.26
Investment Income	49,972.62	55,926.91	391.34
Other Income	823,220.57	1,280,957.48	801,897.69
TOTAL INCOME	\$ 5,784,713.47	\$ 7,210,729.36	\$ 4,833,876.29
EXPENSES:			
Program and program administration—			
Christian Education	\$ 673,418.11	\$ 825,262.63	\$ 786,057.53
Christian Life and Work	375,753.07	469,659.33	373,520.83
Foreign Missions	1,099,487.27	990,651.96	767,116.18
Home Missions	355,331.97	443,815.41	372,979.97
United Church Women	187,186.97	405,159.35	413,728.48
United Church Men	47,289.87	37,948.22	26,058.05
Church World Service	1,584,667.97	2,813,472.72	1,071,671.06
Ecumenical Relations	32,966.91	24,783.77	33,548.16
Church Building	20,864.85	28,595.84	21,091.53
Nonrecurring Programs	15,004.98	688.35	47,589.35
Broadcasting and Films	700,508.80	733,963.25	709,426.87
Field Administration	68,548.41	52,911.80	35,110.98
Publication and Distribution	———	34,119.00	25,635.00
Research and Survey	97,198.81	138,575.29	42,002.45
TOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	\$ 5,344,727.99	\$ 6,545,688.92	\$ 4,725,536.44
General and administrative expenses—			
General administration	\$ 167,526.45	\$ 169,726.55	\$ 130,780.42
Treasury and business management	242,724.66	248,804.93	196,839.45
Finance	143,860.75	159,746.40	102,284.65
Personnel	15,326.28	26,035.15	29,751.91
Public Relations	123,215.46	128,107.55	79,072.23
Other	104,677.23	77,598.67	59,868.84
Central Records	———	———	9,686.92
TOTAL GENERAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	\$ 797,330.83	\$ 810,019.25	\$ 608,284.42
Central Services allocated		(-548,108.95)	(-465,098.00)
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$ 6,142,058.82	\$ 6,807,599.22	\$ 4,868,722.86
EXCESS OF INCOME OR (EXPENSES)	(\$357,345.35)	\$ 403,130.14	(\$ 34,846.57)

* The 1952 and 1953 figures have been audited, the 9 months 1954 figures subject to audit.

TRIENNIAL REPORT

1957

NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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principles of approach or program policy which are now under study will ultimately be brought to the point of substantial agreement by the representatives of the churches and become a part of that body of common agreements upon which solidarity of action can be based. We refer here to such documents as:

American Abundance—A message and report of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life.

How Free Are You?—A statement jointly prepared and issued by the General Department of United Church Women and the Department of Religious Liberty.

Criteria for Christian Institutions—A statement issued by the Division of Foreign Missions.

When this development of the past triennium, which is only set forth by selected illustrations here, is added to those of two preceding biennia, it indicates that the Council is not only an organization in action but that it has gone far in achieving a sense of direction.

Its greatest weakness is that at some points there has been inadequate study of its theological and ecclesiastical presuppositions, but there are hopeful signs that this inadequacy will be corrected.

Relationships to World Agencies of the Churches

Our Council has sustained close working relationship through the triennium to four world interdenominational agencies. Two of these agencies, namely the World's Student Christian Federation and the World Council of Christian Education have their functional relationships to the appropriate subunits of the Division of Christian Education. The Division of Foreign Missions is a member unit of the International Missionary Council. Information regarding these will be contained in the division reports.

The National Council as a whole is recognized as an "associated council" of the World Council of Churches, and very vital program relations have been developed under a general plan of co-ordination worked out with this council by our General Secretariat. Through these program relationships with departments of the World Council for study programs, youth work, evangelism, the laity, interchurch aid, and international affairs, our Council is greatly enriched by the experience of other lands. We in turn occasionally make personnel available for service abroad and serve as an outlet for the World Council to the churches and subnational interdenominational agencies in America. Four developments during the past year have been of great interest to this National Council.

First, our missionary leaders have had a large part in helping the churches of southeast Asia to develop a regional council for mutual assistance and missionary outreach. This new agency will be known as the Eastern Asia Christian Conference.

Second, our Division of Foreign Missions and our Central Department of Church World Service have

been working with the World Council and the International Missionary Council on better plans for relating the services in interchurch aid and relief, which have developed through the World Council, with the established services in foreign missions so as to attain a unified approach to the national councils in the lands of younger churches. Under plans recently adopted, Church World Service, with the co-operation of the Division of Foreign Missions, carries forward the interests of World Council Interchurch Aid with the churches of America; also, the division has made arrangements whereby a seasoned mission board secretary from the United Church of Christ will be loaned to the World Council for service in Geneva, Switzerland.

Third, we are pleased that leaders of our church life in America have had an appropriate part through a Joint Committee of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council in drafting the report which is now officially addressed to the two bodies, looking toward their possible integration into one comprehensive organization. This agency would still be the World Council of Churches transformed in membership and structures to comprehend all of the functions now performed by the two, thus uniting the historical streams of world agencies for missions and unity.

It is our fervent hope that this union will transpire at the earliest possible date, which is the year 1960. It will eliminate the competitive pressures which are now on the younger national Christian councils and abet the transformation which is now under way in mission lands from paternalism to partnership, with all of the interests of the churches of these lands represented in a world agency where representatives of all churches of all countries work together as equals.

We are pleased that our Council has been able to make some contribution out of the experience of our own merger here in America. We salute Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen and our missionary leaders for their farsightedness.

Relationships to State and City Councils of Churches

The staff of the Council takes pride in the growing strength and effectiveness of the state and city councils. These councils are at the "cutting edge" of the ecumenical movement. This growth is reflected in quality of personnel, size of operations, and, most important of all, vital linkage to the member denominations.

The relationships which the National Council has with these councils is delineated in the workbook. Suffice it to say here that we counsel with them on matters of structure and relationship, strategy and program, personnel and finance, in order that they may become increasingly effective links in the ecumenical movement and indispensable agencies for service of their member churches. They in turn co-

operate with the various program units of this Council both by interpreting their needs for resources and by providing channels for services.

It is most inspiring to observe the growth of these councils in depth of purpose and in understanding of their role in the total Christian movement. The latest evidence is the interest which is now evidenced in the Faith and Order Movement.

The councils are operating increasingly and in larger numbers on the theory that they are officially approved and constituted agencies of their member churches. This is resulting in more vital and extensive participation by the regional and local judicatories of the denominations. It is also accompanied by a steady increase of support from church budgets.

The number of councils with employed leaders increased from 249 in 1954 to 300 in 1957. Total income from councils, both with employed and volunteer leadership, increased from \$7,851,534 in 1954 to \$10,748,497 in 1956. This is a significant growth in which the churches can take pride. Needless to say, this growth has brought increasing requests for service from the staff of our National Council.

The Organizational and Financial Structures of the Council

Those who are interested in the condition of the Council structurally and financially will want to study the information found in the Report of the General Business and Finance Committee and the Report of General Administration. It will be interesting to note that numerous steps have been taken toward the simplification of the organizational structures of the Council on recommendation of the Committee on Study and Adjustment and with the staff assistance of the Assistant General Secretary for Executive Operations and the Director of the Office of Organization and Management.

The Council began as a very cumbersome organization. However, the elimination of several central departments and all of the joint departments make administration much more effective.

The business and personnel operations of the Council are in good order and are working smoothly as a result of the work of the General Business and Finance Committee and the assistance of a very able group of staff officers. The member denominations have increased both their general and board support so as to keep pace approximately with the rising cost of operations and so as to replace partially some losses in large gifts.

The Council has balanced its budget during each of the first two years of the triennium, and we have faith that it will do so again in 1957.

The Council cannot, however, be said to be in a sound financial position as long as it has such an inadequate general reserve. Even the designated and restricted reserves of the several units which total \$2,712,658 would not enable it to weather a severe national economic crisis without disaster to many pro-

gram services. This is a matter which must have attention in the years immediately ahead.

Headquarters

The greatest material achievement of the past biennium has been the now assured Interchurch Center which will house our staff along with those of several denominational agencies. This headquarters, when completed, will simplify interstaff communication and contribute substantially to a sense of mutual understanding and staff solidarity. While the Council is only one of the owners and occupants of this building, we can take pride in the fact that the project was developed on initiative of the Council and that we provided the risk money to bring it to the stage of being an assured fact.

Unsolved Problems and Inadequacies

Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that all our problems are solved, for the Council is far from adequate fulfillment of its role.

First, the Council has done little toward understanding the basic needs and desires of the Orthodox churches for its services and toward adapting its present services to their needs. A fine beginning was made during the past triennium by the Division of Christian Education in the form of a conference through which these churches developed five basic papers in this one field. The Council should have a staff person addressing himself exclusively to this task.

Second, the Council has not yet determined the extent or form of its services to various types of atypical organizations and institutions including community churches, government hospitals, national parks, the armed forces, and Christian congregations overseas. It is imperative that our position be promptly clarified.

Third, there is still no clearly outlined conception of the role of laymen in the work of the Council which includes lay participation in the program units and the functions of our department of United Church Men.

Fourth, the Broadcasting and Film Commission has made some helpful studies but does not yet have a clear mandate from the churches as to its role and the principles under which it should operate. This is partly due to the fact that many of the churches themselves have not yet decided the extent to which they wish to use the media of radio and television for the accomplishing of their purposes.

Goals for the New Triennium

Some goals for the new triennium have already been suggested earlier. The following additional ones are proposed for the next triennium:

First, we need to make the National Council an effective agent of the churches in their chief work, evan-

in the light of its general objectives and the needs of the member churches, with a view to assisting the units in program planning.

4. To recommend to the units and/or to the General Board ways of eliminating overlapping or duplication of program.
5. To determine the function and general procedures for the Office for Councils of Churches.

The General Committee was established to provide a group of people in the Council who (a) will take a comprehensive view of the whole range of program of the churches through the Council and will review and appraise this program; (b) will develop maximum co-ordination in the programs of the denominations in order to have concerted action; and (c) will bring co-ordination in the work of the churches as administered through the various units of the Council. The General Committee was assigned by the General Board an advisory relationship to the Office for Councils of Churches, the Southern Office, and the Bureau of Research and Survey.

The General Committee on Program and Field Operations at its March 3 and 4, 1955, meeting established subcommittees and outlined their functions. Provision was made also for a small committee on special day and week observances to advise the staff when advice is requested.

The Committee's Methods of Work

In accordance with its assigned functions, the General Committee has performed important tasks through its subcommittees and staff by eliminating overlapping in program, determining areas of need for new knowledge, maintaining effective working relationships with communions and state and local councils of churches, strengthening the co-operative work of the churches, and encouraging long-range planning. Much of this work has of necessity been experimental in such a large and new organization with its many program areas and its constitutional provision for a large measure of autonomy for program units. The staff which has worked with the committee has endeavored to follow the outlines for their work in program recommended by Dr. Donald Stone following a study of the National Council and accepted for guidance in this new program development.

It is recognized that at the close of the triennium it is appropriate to examine basically the ways in which the work has been done and to see whether for the future new approaches should be made. With reference to interunit clearances, the staff has, in accordance with the Stone report, waited in most cases for the initiative of the units of the Council before making specific efforts at co-ordination except in cases where requests came from outside the Council for clarification of policy or program or where the urgency of the matter required initiative from the General Administrative staff. Over-all guidance in establishing areas for interunit clearance and clarification of policy, however, was given by the General Committee on Pro-

gram and Field Operations and some of its subcommittees. With the co-operation of the units involved, problem areas were explored, and in many cases solutions were found to difficult situations.

Members of the General Committee, in their effort to fulfill the responsibilities of the committee, endeavored to acquaint themselves with the program of the churches, explored the possibilities for long-range planning and program co-ordination, and gave supervision to the three advisory committees for offices related to the General Committee. Counsel was given the General Secretaries on their triennial report on the state of the churches.

They heard statements from representatives of fifteen member communions of the National Council, from the major units of the Council concerning their current emphases and their plans for the years ahead, and from several state and local council leaders. Responses were given to the following questions:

1. What basically does your denomination consider its function to be?
2. What are the present emphases in your denomination? For what length of time do you expect to hold to these?
3. What emphases are planned for the next five to ten years in your denomination?

These questions were modified for treatment by the state and local council leaders.

It was found that the denominational emphases are not as many and varied as some had thought and that already much co-operative work is being done in these areas by the churches through existing units of the Council. It has continued to be true that some leaders of certain of the member communions of the National Council advise against over-all emphases requiring nationwide promotion.

Among the areas where most attention is now being placed by the churches according to reports from their denominational representatives are evangelism, stewardship, strengthening the local congregation, church extension, the rethinking of foreign missions, higher education, family life.

In addition to the perspective gained on the work of the churches nationally, the committee acquainted itself to some extent with World Council of Churches program developments. The World Council's plan for studies in this six-year period was reviewed. The committee heard and discussed an address by a staff member of the World Council of Churches on "The Renewal of the Church" as seen in new forms of evangelism, the liturgical revival, and in Bible study. Members also heard plans for the World Council's Study of Areas of Rapid Social Change and requested the Division of Christian Life and Work to undertake leadership of the study in the United States in co-operation with other interested units. The committee discussed on two occasions plans for the World Council of Churches study conference on the Nature of the Unity We Seek and gave advice regarding the preparatory studies and the questions to be raised.

A considerable part of the work of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations has been carried by staff under the general guidance of this committee. There has been need for constant work on co-ordination.

Age-Group Co-ordinating Committees

At the first meeting of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations, it was agreed that the three co-ordinating committees provided for in the Constitution of the National Council should continue their work and their administrative relationships to divisions and that their work would not be taken over by the new General Committee unless this should seem desirable later. These three co-ordinating committees are concerned with children's, youth and student, and adult work. The staff carrying responsibility for these co-ordinating committees requested that the Assistant General Secretary for Program serve in a liaison capacity to relate the co-ordinating committees to the General Committee on Program and Field Operations. The co-ordinating committee on adult work has not been active in the triennium, but the other two co-ordinating committees have had several meetings each year.

Procedures for Interunit Clearances

It was also agreed that unit staff executives would continue to be free to go directly to other units of the Council for co-operation or to call upon the staff of the General Committee for assistance. Staff executives were encouraged to continue to arrange their own bilateral consultations. Constantly such consultations are taking place within the Council. The staff of the General Committee, however, has been on the whole related more to consultations which involved several units or which were concerned with questions about which other staff of the Council felt a need for the assistance of general administrative officers.

The General Committee voted at its March, 1955, meeting, "That the staff shall provide among themselves for procedural clearances where possible and shall request guidance from official bodies of the Council only when it is needed for clarification or direction as to policy. With regard to substantive items on which interunit co-ordination is needed and with regard to areas of program planning the staff may take initiative in considering these matters and in bringing them to the attention of the proper groups."

The following procedures for interunit clearances were adopted by the General Committee and have been followed in the triennium:

1. In instances where it is clearly recognized that a given program unit has obviously larger involvement than any other program unit, that unit shall normally be assigned responsibility for convening and presiding over the consultation.
2. In instances where two or more program units have roughly comparable involvements in an emerging concern, the assigned responsibility for convening and presiding shall be assumed by the Assistant

General Secretary for Program.

3. In instances where sharp cleavages or disagreements are known to exist or where important issues of general policy and strategy or of public relations are involved, the assigned responsibility rests with the Assistant General Secretary for Program.
4. In instances where consideration involving (1) is discovered to be a situation described in (3), the procedures shall be that of (3) instead of (1).
5. Wherever possible, the Assistant General Secretary for Field Operations shall be a participant in all consultations even if no direct field work implications are immediately discernible, and upon occasion the Executive Director of the Office for Councils of Churches also shall be present for liaison purposes and mutual understanding between state and city councils of churches and the National Council.
6. Whenever possible, the Associate General Secretary shall be a participant in program consultation especially where his accumulated professional competence may be helpful to the issues under consideration.
7. Whenever his duties will permit, the General Secretary should be a participant in the consultations particularly where large issues of basic policy begin to appear.

Co-ordination of Policy

Substantive matters requiring co-ordination of policy were designated at an early meeting of the committee. Staff groups or staff and other representatives of units worked on the co-ordination of policy for the following substantive matters. A paper was drafted on relations with Roman Catholics and has been used internally for the guidance of staff. A paper was also drafted on relations with the Jews and has been the subject of discussion by various groups and some units within the National Council. This paper has no formal standing, but it, like the paper on relations with the Roman Catholics, has been discussed in the General Committee on Program and Field Operations and will be considered further. There has also been consideration of relations with the Mormons and an agreement by the staff consultative group that no unified approach to this question should be sought at this time but rather that we should continue to accumulate experience in the various ways in which National Council units are related to Mormons.

A process was started in co-operation with the Joint Department of Evangelism which eventuated in a study document on evangelism prepared by a special commission appointed by the General Board. The General Board has recommended to the denominations and to the units of the Council that they examine their work in the light of this document.

There were consultations between the Broadcasting and Film Commission's staff and other units of the Council to clarify the relation of Broadcasting and Film to the total program of the Council and to agree on better methods of clearance. These consultations

there be a competent research staff with continuity and a high level of morale. Some attention has been given to these problems by the leadership of the National Council. Both the General Committee on Program and Field Operations and the General Board have taken action recommending the development of a sound program of financing for research. It is obvious, however, that much more attention to this problem is necessary in the future if the Council is to take advantage of the opportunities which are before it.

Office for Councils of Churches

The field operations aspect of the work of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations is closely integrated with the program work of the Council. Special attention is given by one of the three members of the General Secretariat attached to the General Committee, and there is an Office for Councils of Churches which is related to the General Committee on Program and Field Operations through its Advisory Committee which is a subcommittee of the General Committee. This office continues part of the functions of the former Central Department of Field Administration and is a servicing center for member churches as they work together in state and local councils of churches.

The field program relationships include the development of co-operation among local churches and denominations and the furtherance in communities, states, and larger territorial units of the development of councils of churches and of church women. Both the Assistant General Secretary for Field Operations and the two staff members in the Office for Councils of Churches travel extensively, working with state and local councils of churches. A quarterly *Newsletter* is sent from this office to councils with both volunteer and paid leadership. Resource materials are being developed for the various committees of volunteer councils. The office provides administrative services to the Association of Council Secretaries, a professional organization of council secretaries. Detailed help is given councils through counseling on personnel and financial matters, and financial statistics analyzing the income and expenditures of councils are gathered annually.

During the triennium the field operations staff participated in forty-eight evaluation conferences of state and city councils. These conferences, composed of denominational executives and local church leaders, considered the churches' interest in working together, the relevance of program to needs, and how emerging needs may be met.

Field experiences and information about needs were shared with the executive staff of the National Council. Colleagues were advised concerning field aspects of proposed divisional and departmental programs, and proposals were made for fuller field program utilization by constituent communions and councils of churches.

Two books were produced during the triennium,

one sponsored by the committee and one by a member of its staff. These serve as field counseling instruments and give guidance for evolving organizational patterns and functional programs for councils of churches. They are in harmony with the representative and evangelical principles of the National Council. They are:

Growing Together—A manual for councils of churches, edited by J. Quinter Miller and Willis R. Ford. New York, National Council of Churches, 1955. \$2.50

Christian Unity Its relevance to the community, by J. Quinter Miller. Strasburg, Va., Shenandoah Publishing House, 1957. \$1.50.

Several trends in the growth and development of councils should be noted. They are operating increasingly on the basis that a council is an officially approved and constituted agency of a group of churches. The number with paid leadership increased from 249 in 1954 to 300 in 1957. Total income of councils both volunteer and paid increased from \$7,851,534 in 1954 (943 councils) to \$10,748,497 in 1956 (930 councils). There was steady increase in support from denominational budgets. There was also steady increase in requests for services of the field operations staff of the National Council.

Some of the concerns of the Advisory Committee to the Office for Councils of Churches include:

1. How the denominations at the national level may do more to develop co-operative programs of their own judicatories at the state level and of their churches at the community level.
2. How greater help can be given volunteer councils.
3. How the churches can best co-operate in metropolitan areas and how metropolitan councils can strengthen the work in the states.
4. How an adequate strategy can be developed by the denominations for co-ordinated planning at the various geographical levels.

Committee on Field Co-operation

The Committee on Field Co-operation, a subcommittee of the General Committee, studied the present system of developing a centralized calendar of program events and a listing of field service itineraries of the National Council staff and their use and recommended that these be continued. These materials are prepared three times a year and are available to councils of churches and in the case of the calendar to denominational executives. Attention has also been given to bringing together and making available the National Council unit program plans annually for the coming year, but no acceptable plan has been developed yet. Another task of this committee has been to work toward equalizing costs for field service, and studies have been made and consultations held which it is believed will provide a better basis for determining field appointments.

Southern Office

A third subcommittee of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations is the Advisory Committee for the Southern Office of the National Council. The primary concern of the Southern Office is to strengthen the co-operative work of the churches in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. A new council has been started in Arkansas and a provisional council in South Carolina. An Ecumenical Institute was initiated at Lake Junaluska and has met in the summers of 1956 and 1957 with interracial and interdenominational participation from all parts of the South. The office has given counsel to city and country councils. It has interpreted the National Council, and it has assisted National Council staff with their program interests.

Regional Offices Study

One of the responsibilities of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations during the triennium has been to study the question of regional offices for the National Council. A careful study was made of the opinion of member communions, state and local councils, and units of the National Council with reference to regional offices. Extensive "listening consultations" were held in various parts of the country, and other kinds of inquiries were made. The advice from all these sources was that no more permanent regional offices of the National Council should be established. The General Committee agreed that the policy of decentralization of meetings of the General Board and program units of the Councils should be continued. The interrelatedness of the work of the National Council with member communions should be strengthened by the participation, upon invitation, of members of the General Secretariat and divisional heads in the program and policy planning meetings of member denominations. The scheduling of National Council meetings should be done in such a way as to provide for the transaction of more Council business in a given trip by communion representatives but at less frequent intervals. The interrelatedness of the work of the national, state, and local councils of churches should be emphasized by interpreting the co-operative work of the churches at each level as functional expressions of the same type of work at all geographical levels. There should be longer concentration, upon request, of specialized staff services of the National Council in a given region.

The Future

In evaluating the work which the General Committee on Program and Field Operations has done in the past three years, it is felt that a start has been made on solving a very complex problem, *i.e.*, how can the many elements of the work of the Protestant and Orthodox churches and their united efforts in the national, local and state councils of churches become as well co-ordinated as to effect a maximum impact upon

our nation. Within the National Council some progress has been made in recommending the placement of responsibility for program and the elimination of overlapping and duplication. The committee has been a center through which considerable planning has been done for studies, clarification of policy, and inter-unit clearances. It has given direction to the staff who have been the agents for carrying on much of the work outlined. It has established procedure for counseling on the work of the three offices for which it carries advisory responsibility and for which its staff has the administrative guidance.

Among the representatives of the churches, consultations have been begun regarding program interests and emphases which, if pursued further, can lead to more unified emphases founded upon factual knowledge of conditions and emerging from inherent needs of communities and their people as well as the nature of the churches themselves. The major problem, however, is how to consider the total efforts of the churches and the councils from the perspective of a vast body of believers in Jesus Christ, one in spirit, dedicated to carry out his mission to all men in priority of loving concern for their truest welfare.

An examination of the work of the National Council itself shows that the major co-ordination of the program of the Council takes place in the program units of the Council. The financial structure of the Council and the divorce of program and financial planning have so far limited over-all planning and decision by any general body concerning the elimination of work and the beginning of new work. A plan to combine program and budget responsibility must still be worked out if the General Board is to deal not only with maintaining a large and complex organization but is also to consider that for which it has been organized.

The General Committee recommended in principle "that steps should be taken to provide for the consideration of budget projection requests by the General Committee on Program and Field Operations prior to recommendation of the budget by the Business and Finance Committee which committee shall receive for consideration any program recommendations related to projected needs which may be presented by the General Committee on Program and Field Operations; and that provision be made for the appointment of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations in such manner as to assure adequate representation of the major program units of the Council as well as denominational and field operations interests."

The co-ordinating work which the staff is now doing under the guidance of the General Committee should be continued. But much more the General Committee on Program and Field Operations should come to be recognized by its own members, the National Council of Churches, and the communions as the place in the Council where representatives of many church interests and responsibilities come together for the pur-

The bureau maintains a lively interest in the theory and methodology of social science research, seeking to bring to the service of the churches the best developments in the field. A panel of research counselors is available for assistance and guidance in research design, implementation, and interpretation. Members of the bureau staff participate regularly in activities in various social science fields and thus maintain a constant process of communication between church research and general behavioral science research interests.

The bureau also fulfills a liaison role in helping units of the Council as well as denominational and local and state council agencies with research problems and by introducing them to significant research related to their own programs. Likewise, a service role is maintained by the bureau as it helps units with such technical problems as questionnaire construction and tabulation in the surveys they conduct.

There is increasing agreement that research is one of the basic functions of the National Council of Churches and that the churches should look to the Council for research leadership. The opinion is frequently expressed that effective research can best be done co-operatively and that significant assistance in policy making and program planning and evaluation can be found most satisfactorily through a co-ordination

nated program of research such as that lodged in the Bureau of Research and Survey.

While the Missionary Research Library, which is related to the Division of Foreign Missions, carries on its work separately, foreign mission leaders serve on the Advisory Committee of the bureau and share with other unit leaders in the establishment of priorities for research in the Council. General program supervision for the research efforts of the Council is given by the General Committee on Program and Field Operations.

Additional information about the Bureau of Research and Survey will be found in this book in the report of the General Committee on Program and Field Operations.

THE STAFF

Rev. Lauris B. Whitman, *executive director*
Marion Nelson, *assistant to executive director*
Agnes Campbell, *librarian*
Benson Y. Landis, *editor, research publications*
Mrs. Setsuko Matsunago Nishi, *director, research for Christian Life and Work*
Helen F. Spaulding, *director, Christian education research*
Rev. Glen W. Trimble, *director, field research*

OFFICE FOR COUNCILS OF CHURCHES

The Office for Councils of Churches was created in May, 1954, by the General Board on recommendation of the Study and Adjustment Committee. The office is related to the Committee on Program and Field Operations and the Assistant General Secretary for Field Operations.

The work and the program of the office is not a new venture but carries on part of the functions of the former Central Department of Field Administration. The major responsibility of the office is concerned with assistance in the organization, development, and counseling of state and local councils of churches, both with paid staff and volunteer staff. It also provides personnel counseling service and counseling service in the undergirding of financial operations of state and local councils of churches.

The office maintains close co-operative relations with the various units of the National Council in order to understand and interpret the major aspects of field concerns of the units to state and local councils. It also attempts to keep the various units informed of what is happening within their field interest in the state and city councils.

Another responsibility is the maintenance of accurate directories of state and local councils and ministerial associations. Addressograph plates, kept up to date, from these directories are used by various units in communicating with councils and ministerial associations.

The Executive Director works with the Division of Christian Education (primarily the Commission on

General Christian Education) in the co-ordination and administration of educational field services of the division.

The office provides office service for the Association of Council Secretaries, a professional organization of local, state, national, and world council secretaries in the United States.

In this triennium there have been several interesting trends noted in the growth and development of councils with paid leadership:

- 1. Councils are more and more operating on the basis that a council is an officially approved and constituted agency of a group of churches at the local level or communions (at the state level) that desire to forward certain phases of their own work in co-operation with one another.
- 2. In 1954 there were 249 state and local councils with paid leadership. In 1957, there were 300 such councils. (See chart.)
- 3. Total income of councils of churches both volunteer and paid has steadily increased, as these figures indicate:

1952-\$ 6,101,881	908 Councils
1954-\$ 7,851,584	947 Councils
1956-\$10,748,497	930 Councils
- 4. The steady increase in support from denominational budgets of their work carried on through their state council of churches, bearing out number 1. above, is indicated in the percentage increase in the following figures:

	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1952-56
Denominational					
Budgets	27.3	6.2	17.3	11.7	77.2
Individuals	10.7	-5.7	-6.4	.5	-1.3
Total Income	59.3	19.2	20.0	12.9	158.3

5. A study of the rate of growth of income from all city and county councils with paid leadership reveals these percentages of increase:

	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1952-56
Church					
Budgets	28.6	17.8	20.9	12.2	105.5
Individuals	-6.2	5.0	1.2	.6	6.0
Total Income	8.9	5.3	27.3	14.1	66.7

6. The yearly "Survey of Income and Related Data" compiled by W. P. Buckwalter, Jr., has given the office significant data with which he has developed income percentage profiles as one phase of financial counseling for the use of councils studying their total basis of support.

7. There has been a steady increase in requests for services of the staff in meeting with state and local councils' committees and conferences for counseling as to program, personnel organization, basic philosophy underlying the co-operative work of the denominations at the state and local level, basic financing of this work, and the specific functions of the various divisions, departments, and committees of state and local councils in relation to programs formulated by the representatives of the denominations through the units of the National Council.

8. During the triennium the staff members have participated in some forty-eight evaluation conferences in state and city councils including Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska. These conferences, composed of denominational executives and local church leaders, attempt to analyze what the denominations and/or churches wish to do together, the relevance of program to needs, and how new emerging needs may be met.

9. During the triennium a project started under a committee of the former Central Department of Field Administration came to fruition in the publishing of the book, *Growing Together A Manual for Councils of Churches*. This, with the publication by the Association of Council Secretaries of Dr. Miller's lectures in a volume entitled, *Christian Unity Its Relevance to the Community*, has given the office valuable resource materials to aid developing councils. A series of four-page mimeographed folders is being developed for volunteer councils. They will be entitled *Why a Council of Churches?*, *What Is a Council of Churches?*, *What Would a Council of Churches Do?*

There are several concerns which have been discussed by the Advisory Committee of the office:

1. How the denominations at the national level may be more concerned with and develop co-operative programs of their own judicatories at the state level and their churches at the community level.
2. The need for working with state council executives in developing techniques for greater help for volunteer councils. This includes development of literature and helping state councils to develop a procedure for training and giving assistance to volunteer council presidents and officers. The Advisory Committee has asked whether this work can be carried by the present staff or needs to be considered in the light of an additional staff person in the office.
3. In the tremendous growth of metropolitan areas, with cities expanding far beyond their city limits, the kaleidoscopic changes call for new strategies and relationships of churches and denominations to their councils of churches. In the light of this, the Advisory Committee was faced with such questions as:

* Are we developing metropolitan councils into "little state councils" smug in their own problems and growth but not willing or able to consider their relation to the total Protestant strategy within their state?

* Have we faced the facts of metropolitan regionalism and studied ways of developing an adequate Protestant strategy of the denominations carrying on co-ordinated planning through their councils of churches at the national, state, city, and community levels?

	1954	1957
Councils with Paid Leadership		
State	40	41
Local	209	260
Total	249	301
Councils with Voluntary Leadership		
State	2	5
Local	692	606
Total	694	611
Total State and Local with		
Paid and Voluntary Leadership	943	912
State, City and Local Councils		
of United Church Women	1961	2157
Ministerial Associations		
State, City, and Local United Church	2045	2255
Men Units	95	119

THE STAFF

Rev. John B. Ketcham, *executive director*
W. P. Buckwalter, *director, financial counseling*

~~X~~ SOUTHERN OFFICE

The primary functions for the Southern Office, as defined by the General Committee on Program and Field Operations, are "to render assistance to state and local councils now in existence in their effort to strengthen Christian co-operation in states and local communities" and "to assist churches in the region to organize and develop councils of churches in as yet unorganized state and local communities."

The Executive Director of the Southern Office has assisted the program units of the Council in the furtherance of their work in the region. The officers, members, and staff of the Advisory Committee have contributed to a fuller understanding of the nature and work of the National Council.

The office, with the help of its Advisory Committee, sponsored an Ecumenical Institute at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, June 3-8, 1956, enrolling eighty-three persons, and an institute on June 2-7, 1957, enrolling one hundred persons, with a hymn festival attended by 1,500 persons. The purpose of these institutes was "to manifest oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour; to strengthen understanding and promote co-operation among denominations; to find ways of doing things together as churches and church people; to provide inspiration, fellowship, and ecumenical education." They serve as focal points for the work of the office and relate many of the program resources of the National Council to the leadership of councils and denominations.

The Director of the office has been instrumental during the triennium in helping church leaders of South Carolina to develop a provisional South Carolina Council of Churches; guiding the churches in organizing the Arkansas Council of Churches; attending the annual meetings of each state council of churches; meeting with local church leaders interested in developing local councils of churches in Little Rock, Hot Springs, and Fort Smith, Arkansas; and St. Petersburg, Orlando, Daytona Beach, and Jacksonville, Florida; counseling with local council leaders in Knoxville, Rockwood, and Nashville, Tennessee; Louisville, Lex-

ington, and Kenton County, Kentucky; St. Petersburg and Miami, Florida; New Orleans, Louisiana; Birmingham, Alabama; and Atlanta, Georgia.

In order to give information and encouragement to the Council movement, the Southern Office has printed and distributed a booklet entitled *Church Councils in the South*. Large quantities of literature from the National Council of Churches' units have also been distributed through the Southern Office to interested individuals and groups.

The Southern Advisory Committee, which includes thirty-five persons who represent their communions on the General Assembly, has met six times during the triennium and brings helpful guidance to the operation of the office.

The increase in interest in co-operation should manifest itself during the next triennium in a number of new local councils and at least one state council, Louisiana, where work is now beginning.

Ecumenical interest is growing in the South. This spirit is evidenced in the Ecumenical Institute, the gaining in strength of state and local councils of churches and church women, enlargement of operational budgets and staff, and in general church and community acceptance. This growing ecumenical interest is observable in race relations because most of the councils of churches and councils of united church women are organized and functioning on an interracial basis. More is accomplished for the improvement of race relations through council organization than in almost any other way.

Among the newer developments are the UCYM Movement, concern for an adequate Christian ministry in institutions, new opportunities in broadcasting and telecasting, interest in Christian social relations, not only as they apply to race but also to temperance, religious and civil liberties and to personal human rights in all areas of living.

THE STAFF

Rev. J. Edward Lantz, *executive director*

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL

The Office of Personnel acknowledges with gratitude the guidance and co-operation of the General Personnel Committee in carrying out the office's basic function of administering the personnel program of the Council which includes recruiting and orienting new employees, administering the Position Classification and Salary Plan, processing actions affecting the status of employees, maintaining complete employee records, and handling the Council's program of employee benefits, such as pension, insurance, hospitalization, annual leave, and sick leave.

Major Accomplishments

The adoption of basic personnel policies has been of great assistance to the office in its work. In develop-

ing these policies for submission to the General Personnel Committee, the Personnel Office was assisted by the Office of Organization and Management. This office also helped to develop uniform procedures for processing various types of personnel actions and designed forms for handling these actions. The Personnel Office now furnishes all employees with copies of the personnel policies document. Within a short time, a more informally written handbook covering the policies will be off the press for distribution to current and prospective staff members. Manuals of policies and procedures have been prepared and are maintained by the Office of Personnel for the guidance of unit executives in handling personnel transactions.

The maintenance and further development of the

General Department of United Church Women

THE CONTINUOUSLY changing scene, not only in America but in all countries of the world, confronts and stimulates the General Department of United Church Women as it seeks to "unite church women in their allegiance to their Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, through a program looking to their integration in the total life and work of the Church, and to the building of a world Christian community."

The most popular show on Broadway today is *My Fair Lady*. It is based on Shaw's *Pygmalion*, in which a London cockney girl undergoes a complete transformation. Such a change for Eliza in 1912 was immediate; that which has come to women through the years has been gradual but no less real.

My fair lady of today is aware that:

She outnumbers man for the first time in our history.
She outlives man by an average of four and a half years.

She is the beneficiary of 80 per cent of all life insurance.

She owns 70 per cent of this country's wealth.

She spends about 85 per cent of family income and suggests what should be done with the remaining 15 per cent.

She has, as a voter, a majority of the franchise.

She is principally responsible for the education of our youth.

She owns 40 per cent of all real estate.

She possesses 50 per cent of the stock in industrial corporations.

She has ninety-two labor-saving devices which should give her more time than any previous generation.

She has greatly influenced political life in the United States by becoming senator, judge, cabinet member, ambassador.

She can now enter the interesting fields of medicine, law, engineering, the ministry, business, and finance.

She also faces the facts that:

While over one half of all women devote full time to homemaking, the majority of women continue to be homemakers when employed.

One third of all women in the United States aged fourteen or over are in the labor force in any given month.

Two fifths of all women (28,000,000) work in the course of a year; three out of every ten married women are working, and two out of every five

mothers of school-age children are in the labor force.

In 1900 one half of the women in the United States were never employed, but now nine out of ten women are likely to be employed at some time in their lives.

Only one quarter of the female labor force is made up of single women; six out of ten working women are married, five out of ten working women are over forty years old.

One fifth of the nation's income (\$42,000,000,000) in wages and salaries was earned by women in 1955; one quarter of the total manhours was worked by women in 1955.

All occupations from clerical and factory work to the professions are open to women.

One might conclude from the facts that already the place of women in American society is assured, but the full integration of women in society and in the total life and work of the Church is yet to be realized. Both are essential to the building of a world Christian community.

A like concern is expressed by the World Council of Churches through its Department on the Co-operation of Men and Women in Church and Society and by a similar committee originally organized by United Church Women but at its request now related to the National Council of Churches. Representatives of United Church Women serve on both these committees.

In reality the position of women, their influence, and their efforts more fully to serve God and mankind are only a part of the picture of the rapid social change which commands the attention of all Christendom today. Church women seek not to intensify the problem but rather to assume common Christian responsibility for the "new age."

The program of United Church Women is the program of the National Council of Churches, adapted to the specific needs, significant contributions, and abilities of women. It is carried forward through a Board of Managers of some 325 persons, representing twenty-two denominational women's groups, fifty state and 2200 local councils of church women.

In addition, six program committees of sixty persons each formulate and promote the program, meeting as a whole once a triennium. The last meeting, held in New York in October, 1955, with three hundred women present, became an occasion for worship, study, concerted action, and program planning for the work at home and abroad. Smaller committees have

- met annually with the appropriate members of the national staffs.

Program Co-ordination

Within the past year in an effort to achieve wholeness within the various emphases of the department and a more united approach to state and local councils and the national denominational women's groups, the position of program co-ordinator on the national staff was created. Although the effort is of necessity in the experimental stage, in broad outlines it attempts to relate the program of United Church Women more closely to the program of the National Council of Churches; to discover in the programs of the World Council of Churches what is pertinent for women working unitedly in the United States; with the aid of staff members of the national denominational women's organizations to initiate co-operative effort and action; and to give added emphasis to those local, state, and national activities on the part of church women which the denominational women's groups and United Church Women agree can better be done together. Within the department the program co-ordinator and the three program directors are working toward a more unified triennial emphasis in world mission, world relations, and social relations, including the emphases and the themes of the three special days—World Day of Prayer, World Community Day, and May Fellowship Day.

Human Relations Workshops

A grant of \$10,000 in May, 1956, from the Fund for the Republic for "educational work in race relations" has made possible a co-ordinated emphasis which has reached areas of tension in every section of the country.

Recognizing that church women, much as they may desire, often do not know how to proceed in a community torn with tensions in human relations, the department proceeded to set up with the aid of local councils a series of workshops in urban communities under the theme "How to Deal With Controversy."

In each case a nationally known volunteer laywoman of United Church Women, a staff member of a national denominational women's organization, and a member of the staff of United Church Women comprise a team that goes into a community to meet with a relatively small group (some fifty to seventy-five local persons) to worship together, and to analyze the problems of the particular community. The team members then present principles and demonstrate techniques for handling controversy and help the members of the workshop evaluate methods and resources for dealing with the problem and for initiating community action for better human relations.

Approximately thirty workshops have been held in such diverse areas as New York City; Fresno, Calif.; Billings, Mont.; Columbia, S. C.; Jacksonville, Fla.; New Orleans, La.; Texarkana, Tex.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis. For the most part the reactions of the participants have been favorable and gratifying.

For the first year and a half, the department carried the workshops without additional staff help beyond part-time stenographic assistance. An additional grant of \$20,000 in May of this year from the Fund for the Republic makes possible the addition of a staff person for a year to set up and participate herself in new workshops and to do follow-up work in the communities already reached.

Christian World Relations and World Community Day

The purpose of the department's emphasis on Christian World Relations is to achieve among Protestant and Orthodox church women in the United States a new sense of responsibility for the world of their generation and its particular needs. In the light of Christian principles and the Christian emphasis on compassion, church women unite in a program of study and positive action, working unitedly to help solve some of the problems that keep nations apart and impede progress toward lasting peace.

The program includes:

Co-operation in providing material and financial aid for the relief of suffering;

X Study and discussion for promoting an intelligent public opinion on the issues involved in United States' foreign policy and for the support of the United Nations;

Programs for increasing understanding of peoples of other nations;

Support of legislation by which our nation can wisely discharge the heavy responsibilities of world leadership;

X Concern for plans of government or of groups of citizens in providing technical assistance to emerging peoples;

X Provision for an official observer to an interpreter of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The observance of World Community Day on the first Friday in November has continued to serve as the culmination of months of study in some area of international relations and as the tangible expression of the concern of church women for the unmet material needs of peoples in various areas of the world as well as for the program for peace of United Church Women.

In 1955 under the over-all theme, "Give Us Our Daily Bread," the women made a special study of the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization in raising the levels of nutrition and increasing the supply of basic foods. In 1956 the theme chosen was "For the Sake of My Brethren, My Kinsmen," and the basic study centered on human rights and more particularly on the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. This year 1957 the study emphasis was on emerging peoples with special stress on the people of the new nations of the world, with the theme for the day, "Bread, Freedom, Dignity."

Each year certain material aid projects were em-

National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the United States of America

Statement of Income and Expenses

For The Years Ended December 31, 1954, '55, '56 and '57

	1954	1955	1956	1957
INCOME:				
Contributions—				
Member Denominations	\$ 3,163,385	\$ 3,822,307	\$ 4,034,217	\$ 4,713,987
Other	3,486,432	3,596,286	3,818,574	3,199,327
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$ 6,649,817	\$ 7,418,593	\$ 7,852,791	\$ 7,913,314
Income from Investments	151,138	78,891	70,271	83,841
Ocean Freight Refunds	1,036,137	2,124,904	3,716,049	7,457,179
Other Income	2,472,088	2,693,420	2,778,372	2,543,665
TOTAL INCOME	\$10,309,180	\$12,315,808	\$14,417,483	\$17,997,999
EXPENSES:				
Program and Program administration—				
Christian Education	\$ 1,678,540	\$ 1,885,937	\$ 1,902,227	\$ 1,960,027
Christian Life and Work	393,252	479,575	519,481	560,596
Foreign Missions	1,279,586	1,388,460	1,437,280	1,525,560
Home Missions	524,006	543,839	628,466	633,442
United Church Men	38,110	46,583	63,066	44,068
United Church Women	719,648	827,042	740,015	751,358
Broadcasting and Film Commission	957,890	1,069,770	809,500	948,779
Church World Service	2,969,077	4,916,690	6,709,415	10,458,182
Ecumenical Relations	57,517	15,679	42,172	29,617
Evangelism	131,344	130,033	144,390	135,602
Research and Survey	125,446	128,399	140,353	152,281
Field Operations	63,040	70,367	72,380	75,909
Publication and Distribution	466,749	448,382	428,947	425,716
Nonrecurring Programs	13,766	6,114	58,233	6,980
TOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	\$ 9,417,971	\$11,906,870	\$13,695,925	\$17,708,117
General Administration and Services—				
General Administration	\$ 218,077	\$ 230,117	\$ 245,009	\$ 269,033
Budget	17,778	17,731	18,175	14,332
Organization and Management	13,447	21,465	14,315	15,148
Business Services	743,359	771,402	823,709	841,122
Personnel	52,377	64,078	71,325	73,864
Treasury and Accounting	195,673	195,267	200,462	211,478
Central Records	12,762	14,465	14,843	15,681
Finance	176,514	161,354	168,730	157,540
Public Relations	129,886	125,592	131,201	133,180
Other	53,249	70,730	78,767	89,036
TOTAL GENERAL SERVICE EXPENSES	\$ 1,613,122	\$ 1,672,201	\$ 1,766,536	\$ 1,820,414
Central Services allocated	(—538,768)	(—590,764)	(—624,187)	(—626,947)
Other Internal Transactions	(—949,490)	(—1,007,355)	(—1,065,492)	(—1,554,156)
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$ 9,542,835	\$11,980,952	\$13,772,782	\$17,347,428
Advance to Inter-Church Center	—	\$ 50,000	\$ 200,000	\$ 160,000
EXCESS OF INCOME OR (EXPENSES)	\$ 766,345	\$ 284,856	\$ 444,701	\$ 490,571

DIRECTOR, FBI (62-94934)

November 30, 1960

SAC, CHICAGO (100-36062)

EDGAR C. BUNDY
INFORMATION CONCERNING ATTN: CENTRAL RESEARCH

Mr. EDGAR C. BUNDY of the Church League of America, with residence at Wheaton, Illinois, recently furnished certain literature which he and his staff have accumulated, including the following, which are being submitted to the Bureau, attention Central Research, for information purposes:

1. Issues of "News and Views", beginning with Volume 20, #1, January, 1957, through December, 1960. (Monthly publication).
2. An "Index for News and Views Listing Individuals, Organizations, and Publications" for the years January, 1957 through December, 1959.
3. Pamphlet entitled "What is the Church League of America?"
4. Pamphlet entitled "The Crusade Against Government Investigating Agencies" described there in as issued by the Institute for Special Research, Pasadena, California.

② Bureau (REGISTERED)
1- Package (REGISTERED)
1- Chicago
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5. A pamphlet entitled "The Communists Are After Your Church!" by HERBERT A. PHILBRICK, described therein as a reprint of Mr. PHILBRICK's article in "The Christian Herald".
6. Mimeographed material "The Relation of the Local Councils of Churches to the National and World Councils and the Ecumenical Movement."
7. Mimeographed material described thereon as prepared by the Church League of America, 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois, entitled "United Church Women".
8. A reprint entitled "Communism in the Churches" by J. B. MATTHEWS.
9. A reprint of the "New York Herald-Tribune" article of June 7, 1960 entitled "Anti Soviet Group Issues Church Plea" which relates to the St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral, and the Supreme Court decision relating thereto handed down on June 6, 1960.
10. Opinion of the Court of Appeals for the State of New York in the case entitled "Saint Nicholas Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church of North America vs. Vassil A. Kreshik, Dean of Saint Nicholas Cathedral."
11. A book entitled "Collectivism in the Churches" by EDGAR C. BUNDY, published by the Church League of America.
12. A book entitled "Brain Washing in the High Schools" (An Examination of Eleven American History Textbooks), by E. MERRILL ROOT, described therein as a resident of Connecticut and a Professor at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, described as a Quaker College. This book is published by Devin-Adair Company, New York.

All of the above items are being forwarded to the Bureau by separate package for information purposes.

COMMUNISM IN THE CHURCHES

By J. B. Matthews

March 22, 1958

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Reprint by: Church League of America — Wheaton, Illinois

I can think of no better illustration of carrying coals to Newcastle than my addressing an audience of the Collingswood Bible Presbyterian Church on the subject of Communism and the Churches. For years, your distinguished pastor, Dr. Carl McIntire, has hammered away on this subject, citing chapter and verse of the Communist infiltration of the Protestant churches. Anyone who has listened attentively to Dr. McIntire and read the meticulously accurate columns of the *Christian Beacon* on this subject is presumably a well-informed citizen. I cannot hope to add any new facts to the mass of information which is already in your possession.

Five years ago, when an article which I wrote became the subject of a national discussion in the press, the President of the United States entered the controversy. There was an exchange of telegrams between the President and the leaders of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. A wide section of the press led the public to believe that the President's telegram to the National Conference of Christians and Jews resulted in Joe McCarthy's firing me as executive director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Nothing was farther from the truth. Not wishing to hurt Joe McCarthy, I quit over his emphatic protest. And, it was *after* that fact had been made known to politicians high in the Republican administration that a phony exchange of telegrams between the White House and the National Conference of Christians and Jews was arranged.

How well I remember reading a dispatch from Honolulu stating that the Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire agreed with my estimate of the extent of the Communist infiltration of the ranks of the Protestant clergy.

TERMS DEFINED

In order that you may better understand me, I wish at the outset to comment briefly on the terms Communism, socialism, statism, and world government.

When I speak of Communism, I mean the Soviet slave state, its satellites, and its fifth column in the United States.

Socialism, whether of the Fabian, ADA, or Re-publican variety, has the historic role of producing such disintegration of the economy and deterioration of the national morale as to hasten the appearance of a totalitarian receivership.

Statism, under whatever name, is the accumulation of power—both economic and political—in the hands of a gigantic bureaucracy, with the resultant whittling down of liberty.

World government means the surrender of national sovereignty essential to the preservation of our basic freedoms, and the placing of American destiny in the hands of those who envy or hate us.

Over against all of these four outriders of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, we have the uniquely American economy of a free competitive market in which the free choices of unregulated and sovereign consumers provide the impersonal and unplanned basis for all our freedoms. The gradual wearing away of this distinctively American economy under the corroding impact of Communism, socialism, statism, and world government is the tragedy of the 20th century and a grievous and irreplaceable loss to mankind.

INFILTRATION OF CATHOLIC PRIESTHOOD

In 1953, when I ran into some unsought publicity over an article which I wrote for the *American Mercury*, I received several thousand letters and telegrams. The commonest complaint of my correspondents was that I had not mentioned Catholics and Jews in the article. There were broad hints that I was afraid to do so.

As a matter of fact, I have written and spoken on the subject of the Communist infiltration of the Catholic priesthood. The Catholic priests who have been affiliated with Communist-front organizations are negligible in number, but they prove that priests are not absolutely immune to the wiles of the Communist apparatus. According to my card file, 48 have had such affiliations, but the large majority of these have had only one affiliation.

When Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam was confronted by the Velde Committee with the fact that he had been a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, cited by the Committee as a Communist front, he called attention to the fact that the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, had also been a sponsor of this Communist outfit. Archbishop Lucey was also listed as a member of the council of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited by the House Committee as a Communist front. The fact of Archbishop Lucey's connection with the National Committee to Abolish the Poll tax was not a part of the House Committee's record until the testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam placed it there. This means that Bishop Oxnam became an informer!

I have not forgotten that the first smear book on the Dies Committee was written by Father August Raymond Ogdan and published by the Catholic University of America.

In 1944, the Dies Committee published long reports on the extensive Communist penetration of the CIO Political Action Committee. Subsequent history has attested the meticulous accuracy of those reports, a fact in which I find some satisfaction because I wrote them. The CIO unions which I named as Communist dominated in those reports were expelled from the CIO five years later, with the exception of two or three which threw off the Communist yoke. The Catholic weekly, *Commonweal and America*, denounced the findings of those reports, and the *Daily Worker* of October 27, 1944, picked up their denunciations and reprinted them.

I must register my dissent from a widely held assumption that all Catholics are of one mind on the question and methods of resisting the encroachments of Communism. No such unanimity exists. There is no monolithic Catholic line on the subject of freedom based upon the free competitive market, commonly but inadequately known as Capitalism.

I have in my library a book entitled, *Catholicism, Capitalism or Communism*, written many years ago—but since the emergence of the Soviet slave state—by Father Jeremiah C. Harrington of the Saint Paul Seminary. It bears the imprint of the Archbishop of St. Paul. In this book, Father Harrington wrote: "Capitalism is a comparatively new economic system but we believe that the influence of the Church will be the gradual diminution and eventually the abandonment of Capitalism, because the spirit of the Catholic Church and the spirit of Capitalism cannot permanently coexist together."

Father Harrington said further: "We do think that the abuses of Capitalism are as dangerous as Socialism or Communism." The left-wing World Council of Churches echoed this plague-on-both-your-houses doctrine in its report at Amsterdam in 1948 which read as follows: "The Christian churches should reject the ideologies of both Communism and laissez-faire capitalism . . ."

Father Harrington's error is a common one. It is predicated on the belief that an evil Capitalism replaced a lovely agrarian Utopia. He wrote of the transition from a predominantly agrarian economy to the free competitive economy, as follows: "Heartrending it must have been indeed for the

poor people to tear themselves away from their native fields and cottages, where like their fathers gone before, they had enjoyed so many happy days." That is sheer sentimental twaddle and an unwitting falsification of history. But even conservatives—political and economic as well as religious—have accepted without question this left-wing folklore of the intellectuals, and have based their notions about Capitalism with its factory system and free market upon it. In a recent book entitled, *Capitalism and the Historians*, edited by Hayek, a serious effort has been made by responsible scholars to dispose of the myths which surround the advent of the factory system and the free market.

But, to get back to Father Harrington. In his conclusion, he wrote: "Capitalism is dying of dry rot." That is also the Marxist conclusion.

"AMERICAN MERCURY" ARTICLE

In that much discussed *American Mercury* article, I wrote: "Some seven thousand Protestant clergymen have been drawn during the past seventeen years into the network of the Kremlin's conspiracy." Actually, my card file contains the names of 8,673 such clergymen, the greater number of whom naturally belong in the category of unwitting dupes of the Communist-front apparatus. The comparable number of rabbis is 353, which is approximately 14 percent of the total number of rabbis in the United States.

While I am on the subject of figures, I will say that 2,131 of the 8,673 clergymen were Methodists; 1,439 were Protestant Episcopal; and 626 were Presbyterians, U.S.A.

The opening sentence of my *American Mercury* article on "Reds and Our Churches" read as follows: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." There was a myth circulated during the uproar which followed the publication of the article that I did not write that sentence. Let me say here and now that this myth was utterly without foundation. I wrote every word of the sentence, and did so after many hours of reflections on precisely how it should be worded. The rough drafts of the article leave no doubt that I wrote it. I customarily file the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth drafts of my articles.

The article was completed in March, 1953. I stand today on the complete accuracy of that opening sentence, as of that date. Anyone who followed the operations of the Communist apparatus from day to day, during a period of approximately 30 months prior to March, 1953, knew that there were five major propaganda and agitation campaigns under way: (1) The repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950; (2) The repeal of the Smith Act and amnesty for all Smith Act defendants; (3) The fake peace offensive organized around the Stockholm pledge; (4) Clemency for the Rosenbergs; and (5) The repeal of Joe McCarthy.

PROTESTANT CLERGY DUPES

In each of these five major Communist campaigns, Protestant clergymen were morally, strategically, and numerically in the forefront. Anyone who denies this, be he Republican Herbert Brownell or Democrat Harry Byrd, does nothing more than demonstrate his ignorance of what the Communists were doing in those months.

The *Daily Worker* complained repeatedly and bitterly that labor leaders were not supporting the objectives of these campaigns. The *Daily Worker* also hailed in hundreds of headlines and articles the support which Protestant clergymen were giving.

But, you may ask: Were not these clergymen duped into supporting these Communist campaigns? I reply that the overwhelming majority were dupes. In certain stages of the revolutionary schedule of the Communist conspiracy, the Party accomplishes its ends primarily through dupes and unwitting handmaidens, among which it rejoices at times to number United States Senators.

Unfortunately, there are those who think that Communism is not a threat until the stage of street fighting has started, and the overthrow of government by infiltration or violence is imminent. The propaganda or pre-violence stages of the Communist revolution are equally important in the conspiratorial strategy, and are preparatory to the conquest of power.

Many people have overlooked the important psychological advantage achieved by the Party when it has succeeded in signing up an ecclesiastical dupe, or any other dupe for that matter, in support of one or more of its propaganda enterprises. The dupe, thereafter, becomes an enemy of all anti-Communists who expose the deceitfulness of the Communist-front technique and the dupe's gullibility in falling for it. The dupe has not been won to Communism; but he has been won to anti-anti-Communism, and that is a major revolutionary triumph for the conspirators. Furthermore, the dupe's friends feel called upon to shield him from the embarrassment of his folly, and they, too, join the ranks of the anti-anti-Communists. For every clergyman who has been enlisted as a dupe in the Communist-front movement, there are at least ten other clergymen who will rally to his defense against exposure. Thus, under the covering fire of the anti-anti-Communists, the legions of hell march to victory over the forces of freedom.

Unwitting dupes, regardless of the purity of their motives, cannot reasonably disclaim all responsibility for their acts in aiding the Communist conspiracy by supporting its Communist-front organizations. If the Communist fronts lost all the support of clergymen in their usefulness to the conspiracy,

a monthly religious journal which professes to speak in the name of 27,000 preachers and 4,526-847 members of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. In its issue of November, 1953, the *National Baptist Voice* had the following to say in an editorial: "Take the current hysteria over spies. McCarthy and his gang have so debauched our minds that any man who does not agree that General Motors should take over the country is branded as a spy. Hence they have pushed nearly half of the country into the place where they sympathize with the Communists." The editor-clergyman who wrote that was the Rev. Dr. J. Pius Barbour. The language, the lies, and the line of that statement could have been lifted right out of the Communist Party's *Daily Worker*. The Rev. Dr. J. Pius Barbour was the highest editorial representative of the third largest Protestant denomination in the

United States. What difference does it make whether a man is a member or not a member of the Communist Party, whether he is a witting dupe or an unwitting dupe, as long as he propagates the views of the Communist conspiracy? It makes a lot of difference. If the Rev. Dr. J. Pius Barbour had dropped his ecclesiastical title, taken off his priestly robes, and openly joined the Communist Party, his purpose would have been clear and his influence for evil negligible. Nobody would be deceived. He would be subject to prosecution by the federal government under the Smith Act. But, operating as a prominent clergyman of the third largest Protestant denomination in the United States and, so far as I know, as an unwitting dupe, he is immune from prosecution. He is even immune from exposure by any congressional committee. We do not have, and should not have, statutes for the prosecution of unwitting dupes. God and government must suffer fools to go their way unmolested, even though they imperil freedom more surely than do the professional agents of the Kremlin's world-wide conspiracy.

Let us take another look at the Rev. Dr. J. Pius Barbour. I quote from his editorial in the February, 1955, issue of the *National Baptist Voice*, as follows: "The Church is changing the social order. . . . It is making war and unrelenting war on the

FRED D. WENTZEL

Continuing on our weary way through some of the documentation to be found in the national publications of the major Protestant denominations, I come to *The Messenger*, national organ of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, a denomination which currently reports 761,335 members. In the issue of *The Messenger* for February 22, 1955, I find an article by the Rev. Dr. Fred D. Wentzel, director of publications, Board of Christian Education and Publication of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Dr. Wentzel's slant on Christian education is reflected in the following statement: "I mean to say that our national administration waited far too long to bring decency and order and gentleness into the hearing rooms of its investigating committees. If it had become excited, for instance, about the long drawn out hounding and defaming of Professor Lattimore, it would in all probability have had no need of rescuing General Zwicker from barbaric treatment in 1954. I mean to say that the church was late in recognizing that the darkness which began to descend on our land back in the days of the Dies Committee had anything to do with the message and the life and the public responsibility of the church."

"Hounding and defaming of Professor Lattimore"! But not a word about the hundreds of millions of Chinese doomed to slavery, or the 125,000 casualties—American boys dead and maimed in Korea.

"Rescuing General Zwicker from But not a word about the honorable discharge of a Communist of the United States Army.

"The darkness which began

It is evident, then, that the extent of the conspiracy would be greatly reduced, and in some cases reduced to complete ineffectiveness. One of the major uses of the Communist front is to serve as recruiting agencies for Party membership. A recent study of ex-Communists was published by the Princeton University Press under the title, *The Appeals of Communism*. It disclosed that 54 per cent of all the ex-Communists interviewed had first joined a front organization, as compared with 35 per cent who joined the Party directly and 11 per cent who first joined the Young Communist League. It is evident, therefore, that the ecclesiastical supporters of the front apparatus, witting and unwitting, not only further the propaganda objectives of the evil conspiracy but also bear a definite measure of responsibility for the recruiting of conspirators. Is this not a terrible burden of responsibility for a minister of the Gospel to bear, and one which cannot be shrugged off with the comment that he was innocent of wrong intentions?

In estimating the extent of the Communist penetration of the Protestant churches, we must take into account the organizational affiliations of clergymen on the one hand and their ideological infection on the other. One ecclesiastic may have a score of Communist-front affiliations without having become the carrier of ideological infection in the slightest degree. Another may be in an advanced stage of Marxist malignancy without ever having allowed his name to appear on the letterheads, petitions, and manifestoes of the Communist-front apparatus. Many clergymen, of course, act as fronters for the Communist conspiracy and also accept the postulates of the conspiracy.

J. PIUS BARBOUR

I spoke earlier of the manner in which some clergymen deal with Joe McCarthy. Let me give you an example. The *National Baptist Voice* is

pronounced as the "best dynamic of society" and showing that society can use other motivation." The statement as it stands, with its sweeping and unqualified assertion, is, of course, false.

Before I take leave of the Rev. Dr. J. Pius Barbour, allow me to quote from his editorial in his journal's issue of August, 1951, on the subject of Ben Davis, member of the Communist Party's politburo, who was sentenced to five years imprisonment for advocating and conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence. The Rev. Dr. Barbour hailed Ben Davis as "a burning and shining light in this day of 'Cadillac leadership.'" The editorial continued: "Ben turned his back on what could have been a life of leisure to fight for a dangerous and to him a just cause. And for his conviction, he is now serving five years in prison. But he is not surprised. He has been told this by his friends for years. Every seduction has been offered him to 'take it easy' and avoid what his friends knew was a certain road to prison. But with his face set like flint he chose to 'suffer with his people rather than be called Pharaoh's son.' What shall we say about him? . . . If you are really called to preach and know something about the prophets, you must say: OUT OF SUCH MATERIAL COME SAINTS!"

Incidentally, the Rev. Dr. J. Pius Barbour has been affiliated with only one Communist-front organization, namely, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. Out of 1,068 individuals who were affiliated with this Communist front, 609 were Protestant clergymen and thirteen were rabbis. The fact that the Rev. Dr. Barbour has had only one Communist-front affiliation suggests a most important observation. The full significance of a man's service to the Communist cause should not be gauged solely by the number of his Communist-front affiliations.

land back in the days of the Dies Committee! But not a word about the exposure of hundreds of traitors which would never have occurred without the patient investigation of congressional committees, always conducted under the exasperating harassment of ecclesiastical hostility—Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic.

FBI CHIEF'S WARNING

A year ago, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover warned the nation's churches and other religious organizations to be on guard against Communist infiltration.

"Because they despise the Church, the Communists continually attempt to infiltrate unsuspecting religious organizations," the FBI chief said. "What better cloak of legitimacy can be found for their programs than to present them as the offerings of clergymen and churches? The strategy of the Communists to get others to front for them and do their dirty work cannot be underestimated."

Mr. Hoover recalled that a brief *amici curiae* filed with the United States Supreme Court in 1955, urging that the Internal Security Act of 1950 be declared unconstitutional, was signed by 360 persons of whom "some 100" were clergymen. It may be added that the next largest group was made up of professors, of whom there were 89.

"PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK" AND "THE CHURCHMAN"

Soon after Mr. Hoover's address, the *Presbyterian Outlook* took him to task editorially. This organ of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., and the

Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., accused Mr. Hoover of the "planting of seeds of suspicion of all ministers who dare to challenge any situation." The editorial of the *Presbyterian Outlook* was reprinted by *The Churchman* (Protestant Episcopal) whose editor, the Rev. Guy Emery Shipley, has an unusually long record of supporting the fronts and other enterprises of the Communist Party.

The *Presbyterian Outlook* based its editorial on a familiar alibi, namely, that by mere coincidence some clergymen and some Communists happen to take the same position on a given question. Mr. Hoover did not, of course, refer to such coincidences as "Communist infiltration." He was speaking of those cases in which clergymen take a position in direct response to a Communist appeal and do so under Communist auspices.

The *Presbyterian Outlook* wittingly or unwittingly distorted the meaning of Communist infiltration in the following sarcastic manner: "After all, the Communists believe in eating and it is no result of infiltration that a great many of us insist on having food."

The kind of defense which the *Presbyterian Outlook* put forward on behalf of those who support the Communist-front apparatus is itself a substantial aid to the Communist conspiracy, although the editors of this religious journal undoubtedly consider themselves good anti-Communists.

MISUNDERSTANDING

There are many ways in which non-Communists and anti-Communists may aid and abet the Communist cause, among which is action or word which represents a fantastic misunderstanding of the Communist leaders.

In a current controversy with a prominent Quaker, the New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends has published the following statement in the *American Friend*: "We find ourselves unable to sit in judgment on our brothers, 'the men

Grave doubts may be entertained about the value of any tourist jaunts to Communist countries. Tourist impressions brought back to this country are often painful beyond endurance.

The Rev. Lloyd R. Gillmett, rector of St. John the Evangelist, St. Paul, Minnesota, has recently published an article entitled, "A Rector Reports On Russia." Here are some of the things Mr. Gillmett reported: "They are on the march. Russia is on the march, economically, educationally, culturally, and her standard of living is rising continuously. . . . Russia is advancing culturally too. Almost everywhere you go in the cities you find parks. You go around a corner and there is another park. And almost every night in almost any of these parks you will find a band concert or a concert by a symphony orchestra. I went into one on a Sunday evening, and there it was, a band of men playing very fine classical music, and I found out that the orchestra was from a small military unit not far away. . . . I met some people who were leaving Russia on the train as we went through Finland. I don't know where they were going. They were Russian people traveling, and they asked me about how much of the Russian literature I knew. I told them two or three names, and then they began to say that they knew Shakespeare and all of the English writers, and they knew our writers too, Hemingway and all of the people present and in the past. These Russian people are reading practically all the literature in the world, book after book. They are advancing culturally." And so on, *ad nauseam*!

Girilda Forbes, described as a churchwoman of Boston, writes an article entitled, "The Secret Weapon of Russia." Miss Forbes perpetrates the following: "But that secret weapon is only work. That is Russia's soul force, and with it she is building her vision into reality. Russia believes in, and has proved the magic of work. She wars no more against men in the field, but inertia in her land. That is the secret of her progress, of her tremendous strength. It is with this weapon she has accomplished so much during and since the war."

The average American who does not see any sizable section of the religious press is naturally unaware of the nature and extent of the Communist infiltration of the ranks of the Protestant clergy.

But, enough of quotations from the religious press. I could give you thousands similar to those I have quoted, some more crude, some more subtle. All would tend toward the same end, namely, to show that powerful church agencies are propaganda media for Communism, socialism, statism, and world government.

UNITED NATIONS

In the matter of the United Nations, the churches generally have become an agitprop department of this international hoax.

UN apologists and propagandists among the clergy are effectively brain-washing their parishioners into acceptance of the greatest peace hoax since the Kellogg-Briand Treaty outlawing war was signed in 1929. These supporters of the UN do not blush, even a little bit, when they claim as one of its signal achievements a victory against Soviet aggression in the Korean war. They speak of that conflict as a war of the UN *versus* Communist aggression. In reality, it was a war of North Korea, Communist China, Soviet Russia and UN *versus* the United States and the decisive one of those enemies in the defeat of the United States was the UN.

Imagine, if you can, a chief of police praising one of his cops who, when face to face with an armed bandit, snapped handcuffs on his own wrists, in order to prevent the extension of violence. Such a cop would be sent to a mental institution. The only significant role of the UN in the Korean "police action" was to snap the handcuffs on the military might of the United States. The most competent military authorities who were directly concerned in the Korean conflict have testified to this. Nothing like it ever happened before in history.

A maudlin sentimentality about peace has infected a large segment of the clergy. They would buy the

of the Kremlin, in whom there is also the seed of God,' and to deny them the possibility of response to suffering love undertaken in their behalf."

Fortunately, for the world and civilization, this Quaker viewpoint does not prevail in the Pentagon.

The idea that the "men of the Kremlin" might respond to "suffering love" or to other demonstrations of goodwill is not peculiar to the Quaker sect. A news item datelined Houston, Texas, reads as follows: "A shipment of 52 heifers and three bulls was sent from here to Odessa, Russia, by the Heifer Project of New Windsor, Maryland. Agency officials said the herd, the first Heifer Project shipment destined for Russia, had as its purpose 'to show that basic goodwill exists throughout the world.'"

The donation of these heifers and bulls was made to the Soviet government.

During the past year, the leaders of the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches have proceeded on the assumption that personal contacts with the church leaders of the Iron Curtain countries would be productive of better understanding and genuine fraternity. This theory ignores the fact that the church leaders under a Communist regime are the tools of the state.

The Rev. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, whose Communist affiliations have been numerous, is now urging that a delegation of clergymen from the United States visit Red China to re-establish contacts with the heads of the churches in that country. "It is absolutely imperative that this be done," says Dr. Mackay.

It is well known that the Communist regimes, whose countries are visited by these delegations of clergymen, exploit their visits for Communist propaganda purposes.

The Rev. Herman F. Reissig, of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, reports the following concerning his recent tour in the Soviet Union: "On a collective farm, in a large factory, in a hospital, at the ballet, on visits to an outdoor amusement park and to a children's playground, in both Orthodox and Baptist churches, in casual associations on the streets, we met with smiles, outstretched hands and unfailing courtesy. So much so that we talked and wondered much about it."

The Witness had long been notorious for its pro-Communist bias and propaganda. A recent editorial will come as a shock even to those who have been acquainted with the journal's pro-Communist slant over the years. "On the whole," says *The Witness*, "your editor currently would be inclined to put rather more stock in a unilateral Russian declaration that bomb-testing had ceased than in an

American." And for good measure, the editor of this religious paper adds: "We would be well satisfied if India and the rest of the neutral world were to say 'a plague on both your houses.'"

With reference to the loyalty program and the military preparedness of the United States, *The Witness* says editorially: "We firmly hold that our country is embarked on what is potentially a more destructive and inhumane course of action than the Nazis were."

In its anti-American diatribes, the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* has never used stronger language than *The Witness*. The managing editor of *The Witness* is William B. Spofford, whose publicly recorded Communist affiliations number at least 69. His associate on the editorial board, the Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, has been affiliated with at least 62 Communist projects and enterprises of public record.

Is there any wonder that J. Edgar Hoover has seen fit to warn against the Communist infiltration of the churches?

Brooklyn Bridge if you labeled it "peace." A UN-imposed cease-fire in China and a policy of peaceful coexistence with Soviet banditry are two facets of a wicked conception, apparently held by the overwhelming majority of clergymen. Peaceful coexistence is a lovely arrangement in matrimony; and cease-fire should be imposed on the juvenile gangs of New York streets. But, in the world-wide struggle between freedom and slavery, peaceful coexistence and cease-fire mean nothing more than freezing the status quo—dooming more than one-third of the human race to perpetual tyranny and torture. The employment of American armed power to such an end would be to serve notice on the Soviet-enslaved peoples of the world that the United States is unfriendly to their self-liberation.

"ETHICS AND ECONOMIC LIFE"

Not long ago, a subsidy was given to the National Council of Churches by the Rockefeller Foundation, to be used for the publication of a series of volumes on "Ethics and Economic Life." Six of the volumes have already appeared. You will not find Mises or Hayek among the contributors; but you will find G. Bromley Oxnam, Reinhold Niebuhr, John C. Bennett, Walter G. Mueler, and F. Ernest Johnson—all familiar names in left-wing religion.

I cannot take time for more than one quotation from these imposing volumes. Reinhold Niebuhr writes: "Thus the characteristic prejudices of middle-class life, its tendency toward extravagant individualism, its lack of a sense of community or justice, its devotion to the principles of laissez faire, are falsely raised to religious absolutes; and confusion is worse confounded. Recently there has been a strong recrudescence of this type of thought in Protestant circles; and it has been so heavily financed by interested political and economic groups that its ideological corruption is even more evident

than was the religious support of traditional 'natural law' concepts at the rise of modern commercial society."

Much of the Communist, socialist, statist, and world-government ideological contamination of the churches is traceable to the social gospel which became a vogue in many theological seminaries a generation ago.

More than twenty years ago, a social gospel group, having its center in Union Theological Seminary, set up an organization called the Fellowship of Socialist Christians. The Rev. Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr was chairman. The chairman of the small executive committee of nine members, one Francis Henson, was a Communist. I mean Communist as distinct from socialist. Other members of that small executive committee have gone places in the ecclesiastical world. One of them, Roswell P. Barnes, is now associate general secretary of the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Another was the Rev. Prof. John C. Bennett, who was "academic adviser" to Ralph Lord Roy while the latter was writing his *Apostles of Discord*, two years ago. Still another was Buell G. Gallagher, now president of the College of the City of New York (CCNY). A fourth was Henry P. Van Dusen, now president of Union Theological Seminary. Four of these—Niebuhr, Barnes, Bennett, and Van Dusen—are men of commanding influence in the World Council of Churches as well as in the National Council of Churches.

The Fellowship of Socialist Christians published a magazine called *Radical Religion*, under the editorship of Reinhold Niebuhr. The magazine is still published under the more ambiguous title, *Christianity and Society*, and still under the editorship of Reinhold Niebuhr. The name, Fellowship of Socialist Christians, has been changed to Social Action. This group has done me the honor of attacking me for almost twenty years.

Reinhold Niebuhr's socialism, more than his theology, has influenced the thinking of thousands of Protestant clergymen. From Niebuhr's fashion

statism, and world government. Such propaganda goes by the name of topical preaching.

A few weeks ago, I dropped into the Sunday morning service of a church in our neighborhood. The pastor of the church is a vice-president of the World Presbyterian Alliance, which sufficiently attests his ecclesiastical prominence. His sermon was divided into three parts. The first was a ten-minute sophomoric account of how the United States grew out of 13 divided colonies. The second ten minutes were taken up with an account of the formation of the United Nations and its allegedly glorious achievements. The final portion of the so-called sermon dealt with the rosy promise of ecumenism. God appeared in the sermon only in the nebulous form of an "oblong blur," as Walter Lippmann characterized Harry Emerson Fosdick's concept of God in a famous debate of the past generation. In an auditorium which must seat at least five hundred, I counted 58 worshipers besides the richly gowned choir. The place looked empty. Is there any wonder? If the preacher's listeners grasped what ecumenism meant, they probably didn't give a hoot.

EDLER G. HAWKINS

On March 3, 1958, the Presbytery of New York elected the Rev. Edler G. Hawkins as its moderator. The Presbytery of New York, a section of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has 62 churches under its jurisdiction, including the prominent Fifth Avenue and Madison Presbyterian churches.

Few clergymen in the United States have a more extensive and intimate record of collaboration with the Communist apparatus than the Rev. Edler G. Hawkins, newly elected moderator of the Presbytery of New York. Mr. Hawkins is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary. He is the first Negro to be elevated to this high position in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

I cannot take the time necessary to recite all of Mr. Hawkins' Communist activities and connections. A few must suffice to indicate the seriousness of the many.

Mr. Hawkins sponsored the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science. He has served as a member of the New York State executive committee of the Communist controlled American Labor

cripple the antisubversive programs of the Congress, to shackle or abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities, and to discredit J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation." Such are the nature and the objectives of this organization which saw its initial propulsion in a Presbyterian church, with New York City's most prominent clergymen as one of its sponsors.

But, here is an even more fantastic incident in the recent career of the Rev. Dr. Gardner Calvin Taylor. The incident took place in the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, of which Mr. Taylor is pastor. The funeral services of one of this country's most prominent Communist leaders were held in that church with its pastor, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, delivering the funeral sermon. Dr. Taylor was reported to have paid homage to this outstanding Communist leader "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world every good person desires."

The deceased Communist Party leader who was the subject of this high praise from the head of New York City's Protestant Council was Edward E. Strong.

The National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., issued an official statement on the death of Edward E. Strong which read, in part, as follows: "Returning from his service in World War II, Ed Strong became a leader of the Communist Party. As a member of its national committee, as chairman of the Eastern Pennsylvania District, as Southern Regional Secretary, he enriched the Party with the high quality of leadership which had won the admiration and respect of scores of thousands in the youth movement. . . . Above all, he was a man of sterling personal character. He was a fitting prototype of the new Communist man." That was the official eulogy of the Communist Party, U.S.A. And, to that eulogy, the Protestant leadership of New York City added that he was one who "dared to dream and work for the new world."

Among the pall bearers were Communist Party leaders Benjamin J. Davis, James W. Ford, Claude Lightfoot, Louis Burnham, and William L. P. and son.

Using a Christian church for the burial ritual, one of its leaders reflects the current line of the Communist Party, the chief aspect of which is to get its conspiratorial apparatus back into the main stream of American life, to end, at whatever price,

socialism to Harry Ward's Marxism has been an easy step for many of the students and graduates of Union Theological Seminary. I note in passing that 504 faculty members, students, and graduates of the Seminary have had affiliations with Communist-front enterprises. Arnold Johnson, one of the convicted so-called second-string Communist Party leaders, is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, class of 1932, and a protege of Harry Ward.

The social gospel was little more than a modern version of the ancient heresy of Pelagius who countered St. Augustine's doctrine of original sin with a much more optimistic view of human nature. The social gospelers generally, Niebuhr excepted, have found the intellectual climate of Pelagius and Rousseau more congenial to their thinking than that of St. Augustine. The result has been that many Protestant churches have come to have the atmosphere of a personality beauty parlor, whither men may repair to have their egos massaged. The soteriology of Christianity has been diluted into the social workers' prescription of vitamin pills, interior decorating, and smart haberdashery as the cure for sin. The resemblance of this prescription for human salvation to that of the Marxist propaganda is obvious.

The emergence of the modern Communist slave state suggests that the Bishop of Hippo was not far off in his view of human nature. Communism has plumbed the depths of human depravity, and dredged up its most evil components to organize them into a way of life: lying, greed of power, arrogance, theft, slavery, torture, and murder. In this light, remember that a Gallup Poll found some 30,000 Protestant clergymen who were either unwilling or unable—for reasons of their own—to affirm the utter incompatibility between "being a good Christian," on the one hand, and membership in the Communist Party, on the other.

Gresham's law that the cheap drives out the dear is applicable in more fields than money. The vital message of Christianity has been driven from some pulpits by the cheap propaganda drivel of socialism,

Party and was the ALP's candidate for a seat in the New York State Assembly in 1948. He sponsored the notorious Waldorf Astoria Conference of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions which even the State Department branded as "an instrument of Soviet propaganda." He signed the brief *amici curiae* which was submitted to the United States Supreme Court on behalf of the Communist clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rev. William Howard Melish. He supported a unit of the Communist apparatus known as the Negro Leaders' Defense of the Communist Party. He is currently a member of the executive committee of the Communist-front organization which calls itself the Religious Freedom Committee.

GARDNER CALVIN TAYLOR

Early this year, the Rev. Dr. Gardner Calvin Taylor was elected president of the Protestant Council of the City of New York. His elevation to the highest position in Protestantism in Greater New York was hailed by the city's press. He has jurisdiction over 1,700 churches of 31 denominations.

Mr. Taylor is vice-president of the Urban League of Greater New York. He was a member of the assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ at the organization's St. Louis meeting in December, and is slated to become the new member of the New York City Board of Education.

Quietly formed in 1951, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was formally launched by the Communist Party five years ago, with the Rev. Dr. Gardner Calvin Taylor as one of its sponsors. The ECLC, which is the most active Communist organization in the United States today, was launched at a three-day meeting which was convened in the First Presbyterian Church in New York City. There were no voices in New York City's Protestantism raised in protest against the use of church premises for the launching of a Communist organization, even though the left-wing Committee for Cultural Freedom branded it as a Communist front prior to its convention. In November, 1957, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a special report on the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which declared that the ECLC was "in the vanguard" of "a newly-mounted campaign to

stream of American life—to the, at whatever necessary compromise of principle, its isolation of recent years.

CONCLUSIONS

Where does all this leave us, and what conclusions may we draw?

It is more difficult today than at any previous time since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 to expose the true nature and extent of Communist operations and propaganda in the United States. Mark you well, the forces of freedom have suffered disastrous setbacks during the past two years. The anti-Communists, who include large numbers and influential men in the churches, are in the ascendancy. We are losing the war against Communism, and no reversal of the trend is in sight.

Ignorance and apathy, not anti-Communist hysteria, prevail.

Whether the multitudes can be roused in time to resist the increasing pressures of subversion, I do not know. I have only this assurance: that individual men and women will stand up against the foe, not counting the cost or calculating the risk. In the Soviet Union itself, I have met with young men and women, as well as old, who were the harried prisoners of uncertainty, not knowing from hour to hour what price they would have to pay for their religious faith. The last I ever heard of many of them was that they had been shipped off to a living death in the Arctic. They were members of the Tolstoy Society. Twenty-eight years ago this summer, I smuggled their records, dating from Tolstoy's own time, out of Moscow and took them to London.

We may be certain that some other group of high school boys, somewhere behind the Iron Curtain, will battle Soviet tanks and machine guns with cobblestones.

Some other Russian school teacher will jump to almost certain death from the fourth floor window of some Soviet consulate, in a bid for freedom.

Some other young Polish pilot will take his plane aloft and streak westward through the skies, daring, against almost insuperable odds, to strike for liberty.

The valiant will walk through hell in search of freedom.

State of New York Court of Appeals

No. 132.

Saint Nicholas Cathedral of the
Russian Orthodox Church of North
America.

Appellant,

vs.

Wassil A. Kreshik, as Dean of
Saint Nicholas Cathedral, & ors.,
&c..

Respondents.

OPINION

UNREVISED AND
UNCORRECTED. NOT
FOR PUBLICATION.

CONWAY, CH. J.:

Two groups contend in this action for the right to the use and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York City. Both partake of the doctrine, creed and spiritual heritage of the Russian Orthodox Church, which is one of a loose association of Eastern Orthodox Churches tracing a common origin and existence to the year 1054 when the Patriarch of Constantinople ceased to recognize the authority of the Western or Roman Church. In time, the Patriarch of Constantinople acknowledged various branches of the Church in other nations as "autocephalous" or completely independent for purposes of government and administration. The Russian Orthodox Church, with its own Patriarch of Moscow, achieved the status of autocephaly in the 16th Century.

The Russian Orthodox Church was ruled by the Patriarch of Moscow until 1700 when Peter the Great established a Most Sacred Governing Synod to rule in place of a Patriarch. Throughout Czarist times, the Church appears always to have had a very close connection and relationship with the civil authorities, having been supported by state subsidies and having as a member of the Holy Synod a Chief Procurator appointed by the Czar to protect and effectuate political interests.

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To serve the religious needs of Russian immigrants, the Russian Orthodox Church, then ruled by the Holy Synod, established the Diocese of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, later known as the Diocese of North America and the Aleutian Islands, in the latter part of the 19th Century. St. Nicholas Cathedral, the subject matter of this controversy, was built in 1903 as a parish church of the Diocese and became a Cathedral in 1905 when the See of the Diocese was moved from San Francisco to New York.

Synodal rule of the church was terminated and the Patriarchal form of organization was reinstated by a "Sobor" or convention of the Russian Orthodox Church held in Moscow in 1917-1918 and which was convened in the brief interval of freedom between the overthrow of the Czarist regime and the rise of the Bolsheviks. That Sobor which is conceded by all to have been canonical and valid, elected one Tikhon as Patriarch of Moscow. Shortly after Tikhon's election, when the Communists came to power, there commenced a long campaign of harassment and persecution aimed at eradicating the church from Russian life.

Upon the occurrence of a vacancy, Patriarch Tikhon appointed one Archbishop Platon as head of the North American Diocese. The appointment was made verbally at first, in view of the difficulty in transmitting such a communication out of Russia, but later, in September 1923, it was confirmed in writing. At that time, the persecution of the church in Russia by the Soviet Government was at its peak of violence and virulence. The communists, of course, were militant atheists committed to the doctrine that religion is the opiate of the people. Moreover, many of the ruling clergy, having held positions of importance under the Czar, were obviously counter-revolutionary in outlook and belief. The Soviet Government, therefore, attacked the church with every means available, both directly, through confiscations, arrests, imprisonments, exiles and executions, and indirectly, through cultivation and support of divisive and dissident elements within the church. As a result, by this time, the activity and authority of the Patriarch in Moscow had virtually ceased to exist.

The North American Diocese, clergy and faithful, were bewildered and confused at the inconsistent and improbable reports and order emanating from Moscow. For example, only five months after his appointment by Patriarch Tikhon, a document appeared here purporting to have been issued by Tikhon which dismissed Platon as Archbishop for engaging in "counter-revolutionary acts directed against the Soviet." There remains grave doubt as to whether the Patriarch really issued such a document, at least as his own voluntary act. In any event, it had become clear to the North American Diocese that the Patriarch and the church administration in Moscow were no longer in effective control of the church. In addition, as we shall see, imposters were appearing in this country seeking to seize control of the administration of the Diocese, and all its properties and temporalities.

The perils and uncertainties then existing prompted Archbishop Platon, still recognized and revered by the American clergy and faithful, to call a Sobor of the North American Diocese at Detroit in 1924. The Sobor concluded that Patriarch Tikhon was under coercion and duress by the Communists, that failure to act would result in anarchy for the North American Diocese and that it was necessary for the Diocese to create "its own firm church administration, completely insured against possibility of the direct or indirect influence of the Soviet power." A resolution was adopted asking Archbishop Platon to head the administration of the church. Another resolution stated it to be the will of the Sobor "not to break at all the spiritual ties and communion with the Russian Church, but always to pray for her good."

The Detroit Sobor of 1924, in effect, declared that the North American Diocese (or Metropolitan District, as it came to be called) should exercise administrative autonomy free of the Patriarchate with the right of local election of its bishops. This declaration of autonomy was made under a previous Ukase or order of the Patriarch issued in 1920 which permitted Dioceses to organize on a local basis in the event the activity of the Patriarchate should stop and

in the event such cessation of activity should acquire a protracted or even permanent character. During the imprisonment of the Patriarch, the substance of the Ukase was repeated in a circular letter sent to all dioceses on behalf of the Patriarch in 1920 directing local hierarchs to "administer your archdiocese independently, in accordance with the Holy Writ and the Holy Canons; and until the restitution of the Supreme Court government decide definitely all affairs about which formerly you were wont to request the decision of the Holy Synod." The Ukase of 1920 had also provided that all local measures were to be submitted for confirmation to the "Central Church Authority" when it is re-established. The Detroit Sobor, in establishing the Metropolitan District here, thus stated that the final regulation of the North American Church would be left to a "future Sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church which will be legally convoked, legally elected, will sit with the participation of representatives of the American Church under conditions of political freedom."

Patriarch Tikhon died the following year, 1925. He had provided that the administration of the Church, following his death should be in the hands of a "locum tenens" or "guardian of the Patriarchial Throne." He had nominated the person so to act, plus an alternate, but by reason of arrests and exiles, neither of the named individuals was able to serve for any significant period. They in turn had named further appointments, and, ultimately, there emerged one Sergei who as deputy of the locum tenens became the de facto leader of the Church in 1926.

There followed a period of struggle and adjustment between the Soviet State and the Church as led by Sergei. He was imprisoned, but later released after he had, in 1927, entered into a modus vivendi with the Soviet under which the Patriarchal church, in return for legal recognition, gave its pledge of loyalty to the government both on behalf of the Church in Russia and the Church abroad. He "demanded from the clergy abroad a written promise of their complete loyalty to the Soviet Government in all their public activities. Those who fail to make such a promise, or to observe it, shall be expelled from the

ranks of the clergy subject to the Moscow Patriarchate". The agreement amounted to a capitulation by Sergei to the Soviet, but under it, or because of it, Sergei was able to act as leader of the Patriarchal Church in Russia over the next decade, despite the continuance of strong and anti-religious propaganda and repressive action on the part of the communists.

During this period, in 1934, Sergei, as locum tenens, issued a condemnation against the declaration of administrative autonomy adopted by the Metropolitan District in 1924. He placed Archbishop Platon under a prohibition and appointed Benjamin Fedchenkoff to come to America to establish a Diocese subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate. Sergei's insistence upon a pledge of "loyalty" to the Soviet regime was abhorrent to the members of the Metropolitan District and the overwhelming mass of the clergy and faithful here continued to adhere to the Metropolitan District which grew and prospered in ensuing years.

A subsequent effort at rapprochement between the Patriarchate and the Metropolitan District was made in 1945. Following the patriotic support and service rendered by the Patriarchate to the state during the invasion of Russia by Germany, Stalin permitted a Sobor to be convened in Moscow in 1943 which elected Sergei as Patriarch and, upon his death in 1945 another Sobor was called. Delegates from the Metropolitan District of America were invited but were prevented from reaching Moscow until after the Sobor had adjourned.

They there found that Alexei had been elected Patriarch. In previous negotiations, while he was locum tenens under Sergei, Alexei had made it clear that any reconciliation would have to be predicated upon "the demand of the fullest loyalty, that is, complete abstention from attacks on the Soviet Power is not a political, but an ecclesiastical condition." (Emphasis is Alexei's) When the American delegates sought to obtain from Alexei, as Patriarch, a lifting of the spiritual separation from the Church in Russia on terms of autonomy for the American group, Alexei renewed his demand for a pledge of abstention from political activities.

of Patriarchal confirmation of the election of an Archbishop to replace Theophilus who was apparently to be deposed.

The American group viewed the provision regarding abstention from political activities as tantamount to a pledge of loyalty to a foreign power. Moreover, there was as yet no clear evidence that the subjection of the Patriarchate to an atheistic government - the condition which occasioned the original declaration of autonomy - had in any way ceased or changed. Thus, they felt that according to Alexei's insistence upon ultimate authority over the Metropolitan District (as evidenced by the demand for the right to confirm candidates for bishop together with the right to reward the clergy with higher titles and the right of appeal) would result in acceptance of a hostile and irreligious control over the American Church. In view of the failure of this and later attempts at reconciliation, the Moscow Patriarchate has on different occasions issued orders ~~excommunicating~~ the leaders of the Metropolitan District.

In 1945, this action was commenced by the Metropolitan District to obtain the use and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral. The action was brought against an individual, John Kedroff, who was then in possession of the Cathedral but who was not affiliated with either the Metropolitan District or the Moscow Patriarchate. Rather, he was a relict of the so-called "Renovated" or "Living" Church, a clique of radical priests in Russia who, disgruntled and ambitious, were organized and supported by the Communists between 1918 and 1927. Because of this active assistance on the part of the Soviet government, the Living Church had been able to depose Patriarch Tikhon and seize control of the Church administration in Moscow - one of the factual conditions which, as we recall, led to the establishment of the Metropolitan District here.

The Living Church was relatively short-lived because it had no real popular support and it was eventually abandoned by the Soviet government after Sergei capitulated in 1927. Nevertheless, during its existence, the Living Church had attempted to extend its jurisdiction over the North American

Diocese by appointing one John S. Kedrovsky (the father of the John Kedroff above mentioned) as Archbishop of North America. Kedrovsky promptly commenced an action here to oust Archbishop Platon from the Cathedral. Then as now, information as to conditions in Russia was difficult to come by. In that action, Kedrovsky, the representative of a splinter group organized by an atheistic civil authority in Russia, was able to prevail over the rightful Archbishop Platon and wrested control of the Cathedral from him. The judgment which put Kedrovsky in possession of the Cathedral was affirmed by this Court by application of the rule (enunciated in the case of *Watson v. Jones*, 13 Wall (U.S.) 679, 724-727), that in an ecclesiastical dispute involving a denominational church, the decision of the highest church judicatories will be accepted as final and conclusive by the civil courts. *Kedrovsky v. Rojdesvensky*, 242 N.Y. 547.

The instant action was therefore brought against John Kedroff and since he, as successor to Kedrovsky, the appointee of a non-existent church, had no defense to the ejectment action, he sought out Benjamin, the Archbishop appointed by the Patriarchate, who re-ordained Kedroff as a priest, whereupon he "gave" the Cathedral to Benjamin who was joined as a defendant in the action.

When the case reached us in 1950, the courts below had given judgment to the defendants by applying the rule of *Watson v. Jones*, supra. We reversed that judgment, dividing our consideration of the case into two phases, one based upon common law grounds and the other upon a specific statute which the Legislature had enacted in 1945, just prior to the commencement of this action, to govern the situation. (Religious Corporations Law, §§ 105, 107). Since the statute, in terms, clearly evidenced a legislative intent to confirm the Metropolitan District in the possession, use, control and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral, we reversed and granted judgment for the plaintiff, commenting that, in any event, a new trial would have been required on common law grounds. *St. Nicholas Cathedral v. Kedroff*, 302 N.Y. 1.

Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, our decision on the statutory ground was reversed, and the case remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with the opinion of the Supreme Court. The majority there adopted the view that Sections 105 and 107 of the Religious Corporations Law, as construed, constituted "a transfer by statute of control over churches" and was beyond the legislative power of the State of New York, violating the constitutional rule against prohibition of the free exercise of religion. *Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral*, 344 U.S. 94.

Upon the remand, we refused to direct final judgment in favor of the appointees of the Moscow Patriarchate. Instead, we ordered a new trial concluding that, although the Supreme Court had authoritatively eliminated the statutory base for decision, the alternative or common law ground was still valid and unimpaired. *St. Nicholas Cathedral v. Kedroff*, 306 N.Y. 38.

We held that the ultimate and determinative issue to be tried was as to the domination of the Patriarch by the Communist Government (306 N.Y. at pages 46-7; see also dissent at page 56); as to whether the appointees of the Patriarchate were "mere puppets of a monolithic and atheistic secular power" (306 N.Y. at page 51); and as to whether "the Patriarchate, though nominally re-established, cannot function except as an arm or agent of an anti-religious civil government." (306 N.Y. at page 53) We emphasized this point, namely, that the mere existence of a nominal church organization in Russia could not be enough to satisfy us that its appointees would be the proper trustees to administer the Cathedral if the Patriarchal Church had been absorbed by the Soviet Government and its actions deprived, during the period of such domination, of any religious significance. To permit such a result would constitute an infringement on the right of free exercise of religion on the part of the Metropolitan District and would retard rather than advance the end of religious liberty by "requiring the communicants of the Metropolitan District to acknowledge the administrative rule of persons whom they believe are mere puppets of a monolithic and atheistic secular power." (306 N.Y. at page 51)

That new trial has now been had and, on the record and exhibits, we think that the domination of the Patriarchate by the Communist Government, and the necessary subservience of the Church in Russia to the Soviet State have been conclusively proved and confirmed so that, as between the Archbishop appointed by the Patriarch and the Archbishop elected by the Metropolitan District, the latter has demonstrated its right to the use, occupancy and control of St. Nicholas Cathedral.

No one disputes that, prior to any time of trouble or dissension, St. Nicholas Cathedral had been dedicated as the See of the North American Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church and was to be used and controlled by the Archbishop of the Diocese who was in turn appointed by and subject to the Holy Synod in Moscow or, in 1918, the Patriarch of Moscow.

Neither can it be disputed, however, that the cataclysmic events in Russia following the Revolution there necessarily wrought a profound change in the status, government, organization and administration of the Church. It seemed clear on the earlier record, and it is now beyond doubt, that the "general" or central authority of this Church, the Moscow Patriarchate, persecuted as it was by the Communists, had ceased to exist as an operative and functioning entity by 1924 when the Detroit Sobor of the North American Diocese declared its autonomy and assumed the right of local election, of its Archbishop.

The action was properly taken in pursuance of the Patriarchate's own grant of authority as evidenced by the Ukase of 1920, but, even in the absence of such express authorization, there would have been inherent power in the leaders and faithful North American Diocese to protect their property and temporalities against diversion and dissipation by hostile elements operating independently or through the mechanism of a captive Patriarchate. After all, religious property such as St. Nicholas Cathedral was subject to the implied trust that it must be used and employed according to the discipline, rules and

usage of the Russian Orthodox denomination and for the benefit of the members of its North American Diocese. The circumstances from 1918 to 1924 clearly warranted the inference that continued control of the property and temporalities of the North American Diocese by those then acting for the Moscow Patriarchate would have resulted in a diversion of the property from this implied trust.

If the Patriarchate had announced its conversion to atheistic communism at that time, no one could rationally contend that the principal of denominational control of property would have required that American churches be turned over for use as anti-religious museums as was done in Russia. In that event, the faithful of the North American Diocese would have had the legal right, indeed, the duty, to see to it that such a broad fundamental departure by the "general" or central authority from its essential principles did also not entail the diversion of property from the accustomed use of those adhering to the denominational usage and for whom it was originally dedicated under conditions of implied trust.

What occurred in 1924 was different in degree and clarity, of course, but not in nature. The Patriarchate was being subjected and subordinated to an anti-religious civil government. Sergei's capitulation, his so-called modus vivendi with the communists, merely completed a process begun in 1918. What emerged was fundamentally different from what had been before. Was the change permanent? Was the Patriarchate, in its new condition of subservience to anti-religious rulers, incapable of fulfilling its prior functions? The North American Diocese did not know for certain but they prudently did not delay action until they were divested of all their property.

Under the circumstances then existing, this court must hold that the Detroit Sobor of 1924 properly and legally established the adn inistratively autonomous Metropolitan District, with provision for local election of its own Archbishop, and for control and use of the properties of the former North American Diocese. The rule of Watson v. Jones does not and cannot

control in a situation in which the conduct, composition or action of the governing body is such that, if given effect as to property rights, there would result a real and substantial departure from and a perversion of the implied trust to which the property is subject.

A recent illustration of this principle is found in a case strikingly similar to that at bar. In Romanian Orthodox Missionary Episcopate of America v. Trutza, 120 F. Supp. 183, affd. 205 F. 2d 107 (6th Circuit), Cert. den. 346 U.S. 915, which involved an action commenced by a Bishop who had been consecrated as such by the Holy Synod and the Patriarch of Romania in Bucharest and sent here to assume jurisdiction over the Romanian Orthodox Church in America. In the action, the appointee of the Patriarchate sought to obtain possession and control of land, buildings and funds of the American Church.

It was undisputed that by-laws of the American group had been adopted in 1935 providing for the election of the American Bishop by the Holy Synod in Bucharest and that the Church in America was to be "administered canonically, spiritually and administratively under the direction" of the Bishop with the approval of the Holy Synod at Bucharest. This, it is clear, presents a picture of a denominational church with a "general" or central authority, almost exactly parallel with the pre-revolutionary condition of the Russian Orthodox Church here.

In 1947, as recited by the Trial Judge in the Trutza case, "because of fear of interference and meddling by the Romanian authorities with church affairs in the United States", the American group, through its leadership, the Episcopal Council, "decided to create an autonomous episcopate." This was confirmed by a special Episcopate Congress in Detroit which passed a resolution "restoring complete administrative autonomy to the Episcopate and declaring the right of the Congress henceforth to elect its own bishop." 120 F. Supp. 183, 184-5.

The Circuit Court of Appeals set forth at length a resolution adopted by the American Episcopate Congress (so akin to the resolutions adopted by the Metropolitan District of the Russian Orthodox Church) justifying the declaration

of autonomy on the ground that, "following the installation in Romania of a Communist, dictatorial, anti-christian and anti-democratic government, the Orthodox Church of Romania:

XX "(a) is no longer free to preach the Word of God nor to propagate the true teachings of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church and her Faith,

"(b) with complete disregard for the organizational Statutes of our Episcopate continues to meddle in problems, the solution of which is the exclusive right of the members of our Episcopate,

"(c) through her present leadership, completely enslaved by the political rulers propagates, among our faithful peoples here, ideas which are contrary to the free life conceptions and ideals held and respected by the American citizen,"

"Now, therefore, BE IT RESOLVED, that:

"1. The Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America be and the same is hereby declared to be completely autonomous not only in its administrative but also in its canonical (spiritual) affairs, and thus free from all rules, regulations, orders, decrees, etc., emanating from the Patriarch or from the Holy Synod of Romania." Both the Trial Judge and the Circuit Court held that the American group through its Congress was entitled to revoke the by-laws which gave the Holy Synod and Patriarch in Bucharest the power of appointment of American Bishops and to assume autonomous status, still retaining control, use and possession of the properties and funds of the Romanian Orthodox Church here. At the time the by-laws were revoked, said the Circuit Court, the American group had "discovered that it was dealing, not with the Holy Synod and Patriarch, but with the Communistic government of Romania, which was dictating the appointment of its bishop in the United States of America and Canada."

The Court continued (205 F. 2d at page 112)

" *** We agree with the District Court that under these circumstances the defendants (The American group) were entitled to revoke their previous by-laws and to re-establish the by-laws of 1932. We also think that this conclusion is in accord with the spirit, if not with the letter, of the Kedroff case [i.e., the instant St. Nicholas

Cathedral case on appeal to the Supreme Court, 344 U.S. 94] which declares that 'Freedom to select the clergy, where no improper methods of choice are proven *** must now be said to have federal constitutional protection as a part of the free exercise of religion against state interference.' Since this is true as to protection against the interference of an individual American state, we think it should be equally true as to protection against the domination and interference of a foreign state," (Emphasis supplied)

The Trutza case and the one at bar are virtually on all fours, the only difference being that the American group of the Romanian Orthodox Church had originally been autonomous and had accepted the ~~denominational~~ control of the Synod and Patriarch of Bucharest in 1935 surrendering their right of local election of Bishops. Nevertheless, upon adoption of the new by-laws in 1935, the American group clearly assumed a status in relation to the Patriarch of Bucharest identical with that held by the North American Diocese in relation to the Patriarch of Moscow in 1918. The two cases necessarily involve the same essential question, namely, whether a former diocese or dependency of a foreign mother church can declare its autonomy and retain its temporalities in the face of the radically changed status, control and composition of the mother church as a result of political factors.

The Circuit Court of Appeals answered that question in the affirmative and the Supreme Court of the United States, despite the citation of its decision in St. Nicholas Cathedral v. Kedroff, supra, denied certiorari (346 U.S. 915). By this action, which permitted the American adherents of the Church to retain their temporalities free of the former central authority, it would seem that the Supreme Court recognized what a majority of this Court has always recognized, that with respect to religious properties within their jurisdiction, American Courts have a responsibility and duty to prevent seizure and control by agents of a foreign atheistic state acting in the name and guise of a church.

administration they have infiltrated and subverted. What worse violation of the religious liberties of our people can be envisioned than to require that they subject themselves to the ecclesiastical rule of persons acting for a godless foreign regime as the price of continued use of their churches!

On the facts of the instant case, and on the reasoning of the Trutza case in a parallel situation, we think that religious properties of the former North American Diocese should remain subject to the control, use and occupancy of the faithful here, and of their duly invested clergy, following the declaration of administrative autonomy by the Detroit Sobor of 1924.

This could probably have been decided as a matter of law on the record of the first trial herein, on the first appeal or upon the remand by the Supreme Court. There remained, however, some uncertainty as to the condition and status of the Moscow Patriarchate and its relationship with the Soviet State during and after the World War. This action was first tried in 1947 and, apart from other insufficiencies of proof, was too close in time to the events involved to provide the proper predicate for final determination. We, therefore, ordered a new trial as set forth earlier.

We have seen that Alexei was elected Patriarch of Moscow at the Sobor of 1945 succeeding Sergei who had died. It is a matter of history that when the Soviets were fighting for survival during the World War, and in view of defections by the populace to the German invaders who had opened the churches and proclaimed freedom of worship, Stalin granted concessions to Sergei and received in return the patriotic support of the Patriarchate throughout the War. It is clear that some sort of a bargain was struck, then and since, whereby the Patriarchate was permitted to exist and function on a limited scale in return for some service which it might render to the Soviet State. Of course, we can never hope to know precisely what the terms of the bargain were. The new trial does, however, shed some light in our effort to ascertain the post war relationship between the Patriarchate and the Communists.

What we see is a picture of the Church and its leaders permitted a nominal existence and observance of religious rites within Russia on a narrow scale. We see further certain evidences of religious feeling and interest on the part of a portion of the Russian people. On the other hand, there is overwhelming and conclusive evidence that this nominal existence and the performance of these rites are permitted by the Soviet Government simply as a matter of expediency, that the Patriarchate either willingly or as the price of survival serves the aims, purposes and objectives of the Soviet Government at home and abroad and that, within the framework of our prior decisions in this case, no essential change has occurred in the Moscow Patriarchate since 1924 and the establishment of the Metropolitan District here, which would now vitiate or impair the declaration of autonomy then validly made.

In the light of the evidence and the realities of the case, it must be held that the Moscow Patriarchate now exists solely by ~~suffrage~~ of the Soviet Government, that it is subject to civil direction and ~~ultimate~~ control by the Soviet and that, during this period of domination, to permit the Patriarchate to exercise jurisdiction over the St. Nicholas Cathedral would involve an impermissible perversion of the implied trust to which it was dedicated.

If Sergei's acts as Patriarch may be considered equivocal with respect to his relationship with the Soviet, there is no doubt or vacillation in the policies of his successor, Alexei. The best that can be said is that they have preserved the bare existence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia and what is called "freedom of cult", i.e. of liturgical observance. This may be no mean accomplishment but it is a far cry from the kind of existence which would permit resumption of administrative control over the ~~Metropolitan District~~. Plaintiff's leading witness, a church historian, concluded that "the fact remains that the Russian Church is subjugated by the state and exploited as a tool for the latter's far ranging policies", a characterization which the Trial Judge himself adopted, as we shall see.

Patriarch Alexei has always appeared to be an ardent supporter of the Soviet State. He was an outspoken admirer of Stalin, whom he addressed as the "God-appointed leader" and to whom he pledged unswerving loyalty. The proceedings of the 1945 Sobor which elected him read more like a Communist party rally than the solemn conclave of a major religious faith. He and his official publications have warmly supported the standard Communist "line" on various political matters. At appointed times, he and the Church have sponsored or supported "Peace Conferences" extolling Russia and condemning the West. The Journals of the Moscow Patriarchate, which have on occasions been excluded from the United States mails on the ground of constituting political propaganda, are replete with virulent and intemperate attacks upon the government, people and policies of the United States. Every area of political conflict between the United States and Russia becomes the subject of another tirade, more vicious and more effective for the very reason that it appears in a Church publication, under ecclesiastical sanction, and couched in phrases borrowed from the religious lexicon.

Thus, the United States has been castigated as the "fornicatrix of the resurrected Babylon", "the Washington Cain", "the beast of the Apocalypse" and "the contemporary blood-thirsty Baal". All the base lies of Soviet propaganda regarding alleged American germ warfare and mass rape in Korea to imperialist and warmongering designs in the Middle East are duly and faithfully parrotted. "The great blasphemy from the Christian point of view", according to the Moscow Patriarchate, "is the fact that these (American) people call themselves Christians."

At the trial, there was evidence that "freedom of religion" in the present Soviet Constitution means merely freedom of "cult" or of ritual observance on a parish basis, there being a prohibition against any religious preaching, charitable activity, instruction or training of the young or other "propaganda". On the other hand, the Soviet constitution guarantees freedom of anti-religious propaganda.

There is also evidence of the Soviet policies with respect to religious bodies as illustrated by the actions suppressing the Catholic Church in Hungary. There, it was shown, the Communists caused the imprisonment and persecution of the

clergy, the confiscation of church properties, the requirement of loyalty oaths, and the interpenetration of remaining church offices and institutions by Communist party representatives who assumed to themselves the powers of decision formerly exercised by bishops and other clerics.

A Russian expert called by plaintiff, based upon his knowledge of the Soviet State, a visit to Russia and his belief that the Soviet Union is a totalitarian society, testified he felt that the conclusion flows that "as significant an institution as a major church must be very closely watched and supervised by the Soviet State and that the Soviet State would not permit any such significant institution to operate freely, with all the possible consequences that such free operation might raise for the totalitarian state."

Likewise, the Moscow Patriarchate has embarked upon an aggressive program to establish hegemony over all the other autocephalous Orthodox Churches of the Eastern Confession. There was an ancient Russian ambition to become the inheritor and repository of the Christian tradition and the true center and leader of Christendom. The idea was based upon the notion that both Rome and Constantinople had possessed and then forfeited the mantle of leadership which should thus pass to Russia. The theory embodying the claim was known as "Moscow-the-Third-Rome", and there is evidence that Patriarch Alexei, subserving the aims and purposes of the Soviet foreign policy, has become its great modern exponent. Thus, the Moscow Patriarchate has derided the traditional title of the Patriarch of Constantinople as the "Ecumenical" Patriarch and has sought to orient all the other Orthodox churches to Moscow instead. Through visits to their countries, through cooperation of the political officials in the satellite nations of Eastern Europe, through subsidies furnished by the Soviet Government and through infiltration and pressure, the Moscow Patriarchate is making its influence felt throughout the Orthodox world.

Against the foregoing, defendants brought out on cross-examination that, as a matter of history, various "loyalty" oaths had been required by political leaders of bishops in various countries, that the Soviet Government had never attempted to alter the dogma of the Church, and that Soviet law does not require that clergymen be approved by the State. These witnesses, however, stated that the Soviet State does interfere in the internal administration of the Church and that it had "committed the Russian Church to a policy of unconditional fealty and blind support in exchange for precarious recognition." Defendants also put on three clergymen affiliated with the Moscow Patriarchate who testified that they had visited Russia, stayed there for a short period, observed churches open, in good physical condition, well attended on occasion and religious articles for sale. One witness also stated that no one had suggested that he should make any commitments to the Soviet Government.

With respect to such evidence, attempted comparisons between the present case and historical instances of Church-State relationships in other lands and other times are not determinative of the problem. The situation presented here, created as it was by the Communist revolution finds no exact parallel in history. Likewise, accounts of apparent religious activity in Russia may show that the Church retains existence there but this does not go to the ultimate issue of its domination by the State.

On the whole record, we conclude that the Moscow Patriarchate enjoys at best a nominal and conditional existence, at the sufferance of the Communist rulers of the Soviet State, that the Patriarchate is subject and subordinate to the Soviet Government and required to work for the furtherance of its political aims and objectives in Russia and abroad and that the administration of the Church is in the hands of individuals who, through coercion, through employment or through conviction, subserve the paramount interests of the State. On this central issue, we are constrained to disregard any contrary findings of the trial justice and as a matter of law fact in accordance with the facts as clearly and incontrovertibly demonstrated.

Actually, the Trial Justice himself conceded that the question as to the domination of the Patriarch by the Kremlin had to be found in favor of plaintiff by repeated comment that this condition of subservience now is no worse than that which existed prior to the Communist revolution and under the Czars. Thus, he stated that "The Russian Church as a tool exploited by the State was no new phenomenon." That fact being conceded, he then went on to excuse the condition by adding "But so it was under the Tsars." He dismissed the Patriarchate's political expressions and activities in support of the Soviet State as "fulminations of an individual"; yet at another point he commented that analysis of the testimony of one of plaintiff's expert witnesses "reveals no greater or even as great a subservience of the Church in Russia to the central government as had been acknowledged under the Czarist regimes."

No other view is possible than that the Russian Church is administered as an agency of the Soviet State and we are sure that even our dissenting brethren will agree that no court which sits in judgment on this case can be so naive as to disbelieve, any more than did the Trial Court, by its own statements, the strong proof that the Patriarch is subservient to the Communist dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. If it be conceded, as it thus is, that the Moscow Patriarchate is subservient to the Soviet State and is a tool exploited by the Communist rulers, it is impossible to excuse that condition on the ground that the former Czar of Russia employed the Church as an instrumentality to effectuate the objectives and policies of his government. Common sense tells us that there is an essential and distinguishing difference between the two situations. The Czar did not persecute and harass the Church. On the contrary he was a member of the Church, a believer of its doctrines, a supporter of its activities and the major source of its revenues. The present Soviet Government is frankly and grossly anti-religious. It attempted to destroy the Church and only tolerates it now because it can be useful.

Moreover, the North American Diocese was founded and composed of immigrants from Russia to whom the concept of a divinely appointed Czar was natural and indigenous. There was no incongruity or incompatability in his close, active and

interested participation in the administration of the Church and in the corresponding reverence and loyalty accorded him by the faithful. But it passes understanding that anyone can rationally substitute the present atheistic Communist rulers of the Soviet for the Czar of Russia in this picture of Church-State relations and conclude that there is no difference between the two. The Czar was sworn to uphold the Church; the Communists are committed to its ultimate destruction. There is an obvious distinction between the civil head of an established or State Church sworn to support it, and the appointed agent of the State Security system posing as a cleric to effectuate the policies of the State including the ultimate elimination of the very Church he ~~subverts~~.

By reason of this radical change in the nature and operation of the former central church authority in Moscow, the rule of Watson v. Jones, supra, is not applicable with respect to properties of the North American Diocese. As we stated in 306 N. Y. at pages 49-51, and particularly at page 51, there is a basic qualification to the application of such rule. The Court must always be careful to ascertain whether the central church authority really exists or enjoys sufficient freedom of action to be able to function as such. The rule may not be applied when it would result in a perversion of the trust to which local church properties were dedicated when, ~~was~~ here, the highest church authority has departed, in a broad, fundamental and substantial manner from the customary organization, operation and ~~dictine~~ of the Church. "In other words, where a property right turns upon a decision of the church authority, the civil court is under a duty, if such issue is raised, to ascertain whether the purported authority is duly constituted and functioning." (306 N. Y., page 51)

The described status and situation of the Church in Russia has persisted, without essential change, from the period following the Bolshevik Revolution down to the ~~present~~ time. It provided the factual basis for the American declaration of autonomy in 1924 and it provides the factual basis for the continued autonomous administration of the Church here with right of local election of bishops.

Under these circumstances, the Archbishop elected by the Metropolitan District as representative of those for whom the property was originally dedicated and as the trustee "who may be relied upon to ~~tot~~ carry out more effectively and faithfully the purposes of this religious trust" (supra, page 10).

is entitled to the use and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral. To hold otherwise, at least as long as the present picture persists of Patriarchal domination and interpenetration by hostile and anti-religious civil authorities, and to award the Cathedral to an appointee of the Moscow Patriarchate, under present conditions, would involve a violation of the constitutional protection against state interference in the free exercise of religion. As stated in the Trutza case, supra, "Since this is true as to protection against the interference of an individual American state, we think it should be equally true as to protection against the domination and interference of a foreign state."

The first amendment would nullify identification of a church with the government of the United States or of a state. I do not understand on what principle it is supposed to sanctify the identification of a church with a foreign state. An act of the Legislature was considered to be necessary in the beginning to permit the incorporation here of Russian churches at the instance of the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Russia to the United States and the consul general here (L. 1871, c. 12; Stokes: Church & State in the U. S., Vol. 3, p. 359). There can hardly be a constitutional mandate requiring that foreign states shall be allowed to administer churches in the United States. The extent of the establishment of a church by a foreign government having this result may be a matter of degree, but where the identification is as complete as it is held to be in this case, I think that the first Amendment forbids the administration in this country of a church by a foreign government in the interest of its own temporal power. Even if this be not so, the first Amendment does not stand in the way of the judicial requirement under the principles of equitable jurisdiction that the property of a religious society shall be administered according to the purposes to which it has been dedicated. Every naturalized citizen of the United States is required to take an oath of allegiance whereby he expressly renounces and abjures all allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate or power. Native citizens are bound to the same renunciation. Can this solemn obligation be circumvented if the foreign power operates in this country through a branch of the state

bearing the name of a church - even the name of a church that is old and respected? With all but unanimity the members of that church in this country have said no. It would be strange if our fundamental law, while ordering the separation of church and state, were so awkward an instrument that in functioning it has to produce an opposite result from that at which it aims.

One final word may be said. Our decision does not involve interference with the right of any religious organization to select or appoint its clergy. No one disputes that the Patriarchate as now constituted may appoint and dispatch an Archbishop here to minister to those in this country who may still acknowledge the administrative rule of the Patriarch of Moscow. No one disputes that such an Archbishop may establish and maintain churches here under the full protection of our constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion. What we do hold is that the appointees of the Patriarchate, by virtue of its radically changed status since 1918, may not assume control of property in this State, such as St. Nicholas Cathedral, which is dedicated to the use of the former North American Diocese and, now, the Metropolitan District.

Moreover, we do not consider our decision to be in conflict with the Kedroff decision of the Supreme Court, supra. As the Circuit Court of Appeals stated in the Trutza case (205 F. 2d at p. 110):

" **** Here no ordinance, statute or congressional enactment is involved. This is not a case of legislation claimed to be violative of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is a controversy between the American and Canadian church group and the Communistic government in Romania working through the hierarchy. "

The judgments appealed from should be reversed and judgment directed for plaintiff with costs.

Judgment reversed, with costs in all courts, and judgment directed for the plaintiff.

Opinion by Conway, Ch. J. All concur except Desmond, J., who dissents in an opinion in which Fuld and Burke, J.J., concur.